

The Leader.

"The one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—Humboldt's Cosmos.

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SATURDAY, APRIL 17, 1852.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

News of the Week.

THE recess, which closes to-day, will not bring the Legislators with much recruited resources to their work next Monday. No great event has happened in the interval; and if the indefatigable statesmen are supposed to take council in the hour of relaxation, there is no sign that they have upon any new idea. They entered office as Protectionists; they wish to stay there in a more penetrable capacity; but how forge a new commission in the face of the world? It is not easy to suggest a plan; but they are trying hard to do it. At the Mansion-house dinner, Lord Derby, who was received as cordially as if he had been the latest of Whigs, put himself forward as the Minister merely of Conservative order, and roundly declared that it was not his part to disturb commercial arrangements. In Dublin, Lord Eglinton, replying to an address presented by Lord Roden and party, wishes prosperity to agriculture; but says not a word of renewed Protection. Adderley, special Conservative, and Hudson, ex-king of Railways and friend of Lord George Bentinck, both of them avowedly abandon the old economic doctrine which rallied the party in Opposition, and gave to it a distinctive political existence. They now profess to be the mere opponents of Democracy—a ludicrous pretension which would have been laughed to scorn if our statesmen had retained any pride. They and their organs are manifestly making overtures to Ireland, hoping to take advantage of the hatred felt towards the authors of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill—which they supported. On the whole, the party has not improved its ground, nor shown signs of any mature policy. At the Mansion-house dinner the absence of Mr. Disraeli was remarked: Mr. Secretary Walpole was put forward as the representative of the Commons! Was Mr. Disraeli at home, forming a plan for reducing the interest on Consols, now at par?

Out of doors, election matters are the prominent subject; but there is nothing to remark even there beyond what we have already noted. The most notable turn of events is to be observed in Ireland, where further experience proves that the Catholic Defence Association really wields a great influence, and will send a strong body to agitate in Parliament for a reversal of the Antipapal policy; and as the Irish party will hold a balance of power, its operations may seriously derange the calculation.

[TOWN EDITION.]

tion of the more quiet Whig and Tory competitors. On the other hand, in England, the list of Members who will lose their seats because they opposed the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill is daily receiving additions; so that England and Ireland, Protestant and Catholic, will be more distinctly opposed to each other than ever; and enhanced sectarian bitterness will be added to the multiplying petty embarrassments in the House.

The "Peace" party opposition to the Militia Bill goes on, but without any real extension of the movement. The chief speakers are the same that might be mustered on the same class of subjects at any time—the Anti-slavery class, with a sprinkling of Manchester men. Mr. Cobden is facile princeps in this new movement, and he pours forth, with applause, the old statistics of his abortive financial reform campaign. He upholds defence of the country by merchant steamers! And he advances Prussia as example of a superior economy in military matters. Prussia has no colonies, no Indian empire, no foreign stations; all of which, we suppose, Mr. Cobden would give up? But Prussia has a large militia reserve, which she calls her Landwehr: would Mr. Cobden adopt that system for England? Much might be said in its favour.

The Crystal Palace is the subject of a more vehement contest than we have for some time witnessed between any set of men and a Government. Lord John Manners has peremptorily closed the building, which is to be removed. This is to be done in deference to half a dozen persons—an Earl, an old lady very highly connected, and some others living near the place. The multitudes that still flock to the empty building prove the interest taken by the public; but the many, the vast multitude, are slighted in favour of the very few. Meetings are held in various parts of the metropolis, to promote the retention of the building, and petitions are adopted by overwhelming majorities; but of what use is it? The public wish is not to be consulted: the official persons have made up their minds to obey the mandates of the half-dozen.

Among the meetings of the week has been that of the booksellers at Lord Campbell's. At present we have only the case, *ex parte*, of those who advocate a restrictive system; but Lord Campbell has set apart certain days next week to hear arguments on the other side. It is well known that Lord Campbell first entered into the question with a feeling against the restrictive system; but no

shadow of suspicion is cast upon his impartiality. The arbitration in this public manner, with a distinct statement of the case on either side, is an interesting novelty in our manners and customs, and we trust that justice will be done to it by the advocates of non-restriction, in bringing forward their best arguments. It is clear to us, however, that neither side has bottomed the question; and that whatever compromise they may come to will but prove the step to an ulterior stage as yet wholly undiscussed.

Among the strange reports respecting the expeditions of inquiry in the Arctic regions is one published by the Admiralty, of a spectacle seen from the deck of a whaling ship in 1851—two ships, of different sizes, lying on an ice-field attached to an iceberg that was drifting southwards. The ships appeared to be quite deserted. Of the story there seems to be little doubt. The master of the whaling ship was sick at the time, and he withheld orders, without which the mate did not feel justified in nearing the iceberg. In reply to this story, it is said that Franklin's two ships were not perceptibly different in size, and that possibly the figures of the ships were reflections of the whaling ship seen in two different facets of the iceberg. But how could the reflections of a ship fully manned, with people on the look-out, be deserted? The story is unexplained.

The long expected blow has at length been struck against History and Philosophy in their stronghold, the University of France. If proofs were wanting of the secret hands that planned and guided the stroke, the names of MM. Michelet and Quinet, summarily dismissed from the rank which they have only honorarily held since 1848, but which, till a recent decree, was inalienable, would supply the key. The Jesuits have not forgotten "Priests, women, and families." Michelet and Quinet have felt the vengeance of the priests, and, it seems, have not been able to appeal to the protection of the "women," who are, after the priests in France, the chief authority under the actual régime. But not the women of "the family." Debauchery, turned up with devotion, is the order of the day. Holy Mother Church takes turns with the *Dame aux Camélias* in the worship of M. Bonaparte and his entourage, whose ardent observance of Passion week is really a lesson to young England.

This desire to screw the mind of the rising generation by force of logic and algebra, and by

special studies to wean them sharply from the infection of new ideas, is about as ludicrous an attempt to "expel with a fork" what the knife could never destroy, as obscurantism allied to brute force ever hopelessly perpetrated. And the Minister who has drawn up the Report whereon the decree is founded is—M. Fortoul—the ex-whipper up of smart and flimsy theatrical feuilletons, once so "red," that true "reds" disowned him for his violence and his absurdity. This is the gentleman who undertakes to correct the errors of education, of which a more glaring specimen cannot be found than Fortoul himself. *Farceur!*

The "Pacific Empire" is the last new cant of the Bonapartist press; but what, we ask, is to be done with the beak and the talons of the Eagle? It is clear that legitimate despotism more than half distrusts the despotism that has democracy for its base, and masked Socialism for its point d'appui. The Empire is a revolutionary fact; not a right, nor a principle, like the poor Comte de Chambord. Hence the coolness of Austria and Russia.

Constitutionalism, in Spain, is giving up the ghost. The press is extinguished, and the Cortes not so much as mentioned in organic decrees.

The King of Naples draws near to England, for the name of Murat robs him of his sleep, and the empire of a Bonaparte suggests unpleasant recollections. So his brother, confidant in Tory sympathies, comes to London to destroy the impressions of Mr. Gladstone; whilst Navarro is "providentially" dying, as he ought to die, of gangrene, at Naples.

The history of murder continues to be frightfully abundant. In Lambeth a passionate madman slays his aged mother. In Putney, a desponding father, declaiming on paper against the bad temper of his wife, drowns himself and two sons. In Norfolk, a man cuts his throat, and then it is found that he has cut the throats of his son and wife. And in the same county a boy shoots another for having divulged a childish secret. The last, probably, was half accidental—a boyish bravado not intended to end fatally. But these continued outrages show a painful moral condition in the illicit classes of society—a low value for life, exasperated feelings, and a tendency to a sort of hysterical mania for murder. It is a season of unfaith and harsh philosophies, and weaker minds give way under the strain.

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LETTER XVI.

Paris, Tuesday Evening, 13th April, 1852.

POLITICS this week are keeping holiday; I shall therefore have but few facts to communicate. There will be no amnesty, as certain journals had advanced. Transportation and banishment are to be carried out with the same rigour as hitherto. The orders transmitted to Marseilles and Bordeaux, countermanning the embarkation of persons condemned to transportation, was not intended as an act of clemency; the Government had been compelled to take this step in consequence of the want of accommodation for the large number of prisoners who had to be provided for in Algiers. Peremptory instructions, however, have been forwarded to the Governors of Bona and of Oran, commanding them to make arrangements for the reception of the prisoners as quickly as possible. In consequence of these orders the frigate *L'Islay* left Bordeaux on the 8th of April, having on board 350 of the condemned. The *Montagne* and the *Magellan* followed with 800 more, on the next day. As for the *commissaires extraordinaires*, whom Bonaparte had sent into the departments so ostentatiously, for the alleged purpose of revising the verdicts of the departmental commissions, their pretended mission of mercy has resulted in liberating from prison some forty individuals. Even in Marseilles, M. Quentin Bauchart could only find two or three persons to whom he would extend this remission. The representatives who have been banished, either temporarily or for an unlimited period, are not to return to France. At least such is the irrevocable decision come to by L. Bonaparte as regards the Generals Changarnier, Bedeau,

Lamoricière, Ledô, and Charras. M. Thiers would have been allowed to return upon making a formal request for the purpose; but as he has positively declared that he would not condescend to an act of such *vilenie*, L. Bonaparte has kept his name on the list of the irrevocably exiled.

The Government has this week been guilty of the most unheard-of piece of *félonie*. I speak of the arrest of the poet Dupont, which took place under circumstances peculiarly odious. Pierre Dupont had been concealed in the house of his friend the painter Gudin. The latter, who has recently had some intercourse with the Elysée, obtained from L. Bonaparte himself a *safe conduct* for the poet. Provided with this document, Pierre Dupont returned to his home, under an impression that he was secure from all persecution. But he trusted to a Government with whom perjury is but a venial transgression; accordingly on Wednesday he was arrested, notwithstanding his *sauf conduit*, and thrown in the fort D'Ivry; from thence to be transported to Algiers for nine years, in virtue of a judgment given against him by a military commission. This affair caused a general feeling of indignation, and several deputies waited upon L. Bonaparte to demand explanations. M. Bonaparte, considerably embarrassed by his interlocutors, was obliged to give orders for the poet's release.

We are still discussing the approaching proclamation of the Empire. For some time past Louis Bonaparte has been making arrangements for the grand review in the Champ de Mars, which is to inaugurate the solemnity of the distribution of the Eagles. Every regiment will send up a deputation for the occasion. After the ceremony, Louis Bonaparte will cause himself to be proclaimed Emperor by the representatives of the army. The Bonapartist National Guard have had instructions to be prepared with their new uniforms by the end of April; the time fixed upon, leads people to believe that the grand review will take place on the 5th of May.

The intention, which is obviously avowed, to throw off the mask, and come at once to the Empire, has given rise to a curious incident. M. Emile de Girardin, alluding to this project, had written, on the 6th April, that "The Empire would be the direct provocation to an attempt which would soon be made, for if an Ali-baud were not found in the Republican party, a Merino would be found in the Royalist party." This article produced an immense sensation at the Elysée. The council of ministers, after three days' deliberation, decided upon sending a first admonition to the *Presse*, in the following terms:

"The Minister of General Police, considering the 32nd article, paragraph 3, of the organic law on the press, dated the 17th of February, 1852; considering the article published in the *Presse* on the 9th instant, in which the following passage occurs: 'it (the empire) would be the direct provocation to an attempt which would soon be made; for if in the Republican party no Ali-baud would be found, a Merino would be found in the Royalist party;' the said article bearing the signature of Emile de Girardin; considering that it cannot be permitted, without outraging public morals and the character of the nation, to proclaim as an inevitable fact an attempt on the person of the Chief of the State, whatever be the pretext or the supposed circumstances on which so culpable a mode of reasoning is based; considering that the *Presse* has thus forgotten that moderation and prudence are the first condition of the periodical press, orders,—

"Art. 1. In the terms of the 32nd clause of the decree of the 17th of January, 1852, a first admonition is given to the journal *La Presse*, in the person of Mons. Rouy, one of the conductors, and M. Emile de Girardin, the editor.

"Art. 2. The Prefect of Police of Paris is entrusted with the execution of the present order.

"Done at Paris, April 9, 1852.

"DE MAUPAS, Minister of General Police."

The petition *dodge*, as in December, for the proclamation of the Empire, is working admirably, of course. Two hundred petitions, demanding the Empire, have already reached the Senate; all evidently "got up" by the same *kind friend*.

The Empire, however, has completely alienated the Elysée from Russia. We are on very cool terms with the Czar. The *fire-eaters* of the Elysée already talk of marching to Moscow to bring the "Despot" to his senses; and for some days past the Bonapartist journals have been giving way to belligerent *tendances* in a marked manner. As for L. Bonaparte, he is quite violent on the subject of an occurrence which has just taken place at Venice. The Grand Duke Constantine of Russia has had an interview at that place with the Comte de Chambord. The Grand Duke addressed the latter as "King" and "Majesty." The Duc de Luynes was present at the interview. The Grand Duke is

reported to have said, "I would ask the 'King' to be allowed to interrogate M. de Luynes on the affairs of France." A letter from the Duc de Leris, which has been circulating in Paris, leaves not a doubt as to the accuracy of this important fact. The Elysée is disturbed beyond description. The council of ministers called for an immediate explanation from the Russian ambassador, but he has not yet deigned to reply. This disdainful silence has not a little affected L. Bonaparte. The ministers are *en permanence* since yesterday.

Disturbances have taken place, simultaneously, in several districts, but they do not appear to have had any political object. Three hundred workmen assembled at Tarare to organize a "strike;" but they were attacked and dispersed by the *gendarmes*. At Bourges there had been a riot consequent on the removal of corn from that town.

Louis Bonaparte will shortly deliver a presidential message on the political and administrative situation of the country.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

To the official warning of the Minister of Police, noticed by our correspondent, M. Emile de Girardin has replied as follows:—

"MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE.—The editor of the *Presse*, M. Rouy, communicates to me the warning that he has received, and which was provoked by an article that I signed. How is it possible to provide against a risk which one does not foresee? Is not prudence composed in great part of foresight? The passage in that article only reproduces the apprehension unanimously expressed by the tribunal in its sitting of April 30, 1851, by citizens Foucaud in a committee of the Senate in May, 1851; by the Conservative Senate in its address of May 6, 1851; by the project of the declaration for the re-establishment of the empire proposed to the council of state by the presidents of the sections, and by the municipal body of the city of Paris. Assuredly the intentions of these different bodies were not open to suspicion. By distorting the thoughts of the journal you may put down the *Presse*, but you cannot suppress history.

EMILE DE GIRARDIN.

M. Girardin says that now he is warned he won't speak upon the forbidden topic any more. He desires nothing better than to have those subjects which are not to be open to discussion pointed out to him. He will find the field of journalism always large enough not to desire to lose time by counting the prohibited furrows.

The long expected decree against the University of France, announced in our correspondence many weeks since, has at length appeared. It does not formally suppress the Chairs of Philosophy and History, but deprives them of all their dignity and independence. The following is a succinct and able analysis of the report of the Minister of Instruction, on which the decree is founded, by the correspondent of the *Daily News*:—

"To lower the dignity of the professors, to make them subservient to the government, instead of maintaining their independence and the free judgment of their fellows, to restore priestly dominion over the youthful mind, and to secure the interpretation of history according to the political necessities of the Home-office, are the darling objects, pursued with unwavering energy and pose, towards the attainment of which the decree is a step. This key is necessary to the right understanding of the more or less plausible reasons contained in M. Fortoul's report of the principles which have dictated the measure. He states that the method of education hitherto pursued has produced too many sterile or dangerous spirits. It was the intention of the First Consul, in creating the lycées, to open two distinct paths of knowledge for the rising generation, one directed towards letters and the other towards science. This idea has been too much lost sight of. Respect for the traditions bequeathed by the old university of Paris induced instructors not to modify the old system, but to surcharge it with all the additional teaching which modern society requires. The consequence was that youthful minds, while yet feeble, were exposed to the danger of being enervated by food unadapted to their powers of digestion, which loaded but did not strengthen them. To repair this error, it is proposed that half the age of from fourteen to fifteen shall choose, with the advice of their relatives and of their masters, one of two courses of study to be followed for three years—either a scientific course, as a preparation for the learned professions, or for a commercial or industrial career—or a literary course, embracing the thorough circle of the ancient classics. Modern languages are to be taught alike in the two sections. But in order that the new training may bring forth good fruits it is held to be necessary to lay away all parasitical plants. The historical and philological discussions hitherto encouraged are to be suppressed. The teaching in the lycées is to be purely of a "despotic" and elementary character. Free inquiry is to be permitted at a more advanced stage. As what is to be permitted at a more advanced stage, it is to be presumed that the student will not practically attain the free inquiry stage until and unless he has leisure and inclination to investigate truth for himself after he shall be emancipated from the guidance of the Minister of Public Instruction. Another part of the report dwells upon the necessity of establishing a system which

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shall make professors "modest," and not vain rhetoricians better able to propose insoluble and dangerous problems, than to impart practical knowledge. A part of the scheme is to make the degree of bachelor in letters more difficult of attainment than at present, and that of more bachelor in sciences less so. Not the least important new feature in the direction that religious and moral conferences conducted by the chaplain, according to a programme proposed by the bishop of the diocese, are to be obligatory upon Roman-catholic pupils. Analogous regulations are also prescribed with regard to students of other religious professions recognised by the state. The report concludes by stating that the whole organization of public instruction having been devised at a time when political authority had not regained its ascendancy, requires to be remodelled. This, however, cannot be done without the concurrence of the *Corps Legislatif*; and M. Fortoul announces that he has placed in the President's hands the draft of a bill, which he proposes immediately to bring forward in the Chamber.

In pursuance of the decree reconstituting the University, MM. Michelet, Quinet, and Mickiewicz are deprived of their professorships in the College of France. Both MM. Michelet and Quinet had been suspended by the Government of Louis Philippe, but it is only since the decree of the 9th of March that the Government has the power of depriving professors of their honorary rank. They are dismissed, asserts the Government, for having abused their chairs to infuse violent political sentiments into the minds of the rising youth, and for having converted their lectures into violent Republican harangues. Our readers will not be at a loss to understand the sacrifice of MM. Michelet and Quinet to the Jesuits, who are now all-powerful in France. M. Mickiewicz, as the intimate friend of his brother professors, as a Polish refugee, an ardent Republican, and a hater of Russia, had claim enough, and to spare, to the honours of persecution. By his dismissal not only the regnant system in France, but Russia and Austria, are appeased.

The new system of studies, which aims at special instruction and disclaims all that appeals to moral sentiments, will, according to the *Assemblée Nationale*, M. Guizot's journal, the writer from whom the above extract is taken, rather aggravate the tendencies against which it would seem to be a reaction, because it will more than ever give disposition to materialism by materialising education.

This journal has a violent attack on the Polytechnic School, of which it says,—

There has never been, in point of fact, a school which has spoiled so many good natural dispositions, or given a wrong bent to so many minds, as that of the Ecole Polytechnique. Those who have so much superadded to studies not exaggerated tendencies have forgotten the severe judgments pronounced by Descartes and Leibnitz themselves on mathematics when pushed to excess. It would seem as if the Polytechnic School had been created expressly to illustrate the results of such excesses. France is the only country which possesses such a school, and yet it is not the only country that can boast of engineers and artillery officers of distinction; but it is the only one which possesses so many perverted minds and so many dangerous monomaniacs, who reduce morals and politics to algebraical formulae.

Louis Napoleon loses no occasion to conciliate the Church. He was exemplary, we are told, in his devotions during Holy Week, and, as a matter of course, his example was closely followed by his *entourage*. Some of them went even so far as to go to confession—a ceremony which it need hardly be said is not always observed in France, even by some who consider themselves good Catholics. Other symptoms of the anxiety of Louis Napoleon to curry favour with the clergy have given rise to observation. The Archbishop of Paris happening to dine at the Elysée on a Friday in Lent, everything on the table was *maigre*. When the *barquette* was delivered to the new cardinal bishop, Louis Napoleon knelt before him, and asked his blessing, the whole "Court" following his example. During Holy Week an order was given that all soldiers should not only be permitted to go to confession, but that the officers should encourage them to do so; and when some of the men expressed their intention to take advantage of the permission, and were laughed at by their companions, who were amused at the unusual service recommended to them, the scoffers were reprimanded, and shamed with the black hole. Besides this, the usual ceremony of the troops was suspended during Holy Week.

The Government has commenced putting the decrees for the confiscation of the Orleans property into execution. On Saturday last the Government agents went to Monceaux for the purpose of taking possession of the chateau and park. The *concierge* refused to admit them, or to give up the keys; upon which the aid of a commissary of police was called in, and he ordered the doors to be broken open. The *concierge* was then informed that the Government did not wish to displace any of the persons employed on the property, and that he was at liberty to remain; but he replied, with more spirit than prudence, that he did not choose to remain *avec des voleurs*. On Monday morning the agents proceeded to the Palace of Neuilly, for the purpose of taking possession of it. M. Buisson, as agent of the Orleans family, had proceeded thither for the purpose of closing the gates against the invaders, and with the determination of resisting to the utmost.

A review of about 6000 troops, which had originally been fixed for yesterday, but which was postponed on account of its being Easter Sunday, took place on Monday morning. The President was well received by the soldiers,

and the cries of "Vive Napoleon!" were almost unanimous. One novelty was observed upon this occasion. Persons stationed here and there in the crowd cried out "Vive le Père du Peuple!" as Louis Napoleon passed, and that in a manner which showed that it was a *mot d'ordre*.

The Prince de Canino has arrived in Paris from his fruitless expedition to Rome. He paid a visit to the Elysée, but was not received by the President of the Republic; and the explanations which he gave, with respect to his exploits at Genoa and Civita Vecchia, were communicated to Louis Napoleon through the medium of the Minister of State. The refusal of the President to receive the Prince de Canino was announced officially to the Pope's Nuncio in Paris, as a satisfaction to his Holiness. The declared object of the prince's voyage to Civita Vecchia was two-fold; he wanted to sell his fine palace in the Piazza di Venezia at Rome, and to put in a plea of opposition to his wife's demand for a *separation de corps*. The President of the French Republic gave his cousin the Prince de Canino leave to go to Civita Vecchia to send for his men of business from Rome, to make all necessary arrangements with them at the port of the Roman States, but not to proceed to the Eternal City without an express permission of the Pope. The landing of M. Charles Bonaparte was effected in spite of the papal authorities. The French military commander at Civita Vecchia thus broke by force through the interdiction of the Pope's delegate by virtue of instructions which he received from Paris. But the same officer pledged his word at the same time that the prince should not leave Civita Vecchia; and he was, in fact, *gardé à vue* by French policemen during his stay at Civita Vecchia. He has sold his library, museum, &c. to an American gentleman.

The grand review for the distribution of the eagles to the army is positively fixed for the 10th of May. The whole of the force quartered in Paris and its neighbourhood will be present, and the other regiments of the army will be represented each by its colonel and deputation. On the evening of the 9th a *fête* will be given at the Military School by the army to the President of the Republic, who has signified his acceptance of the invitation; while, before the ball commences, fireworks, which are in course of preparation by the artillery regiment of Vincennes, will play from the heights of Chaillot, fronting the Champ de Mars.

Meanwhile, the semi-official journals are preaching "the pacific Empire," as the desire of France, and her future hope and strength. We may as well glance here at the Austrian opinion of the coming empire.

The Austrian *Presse* has the following observations on the presumed Imperial aspirations of the Prince President of the French Republic:—

"In the eyes of the 'sovereign people' (says the Austrian *Presse*), the man of the nation's choice will scarcely win for himself that legitimacy and that hereditary right which he has so cleverly tried to make out, and the great powers who signed the act for excluding the Bonaparte family from the throne of France, certainly did not see in the man of December 2 the descendant of Napoleon, but merely saluted him as the fortunate restorer of social order in France and the rest of Europe, and from this point of view they would assuredly have accepted the foundation of a dynasty, not *parvenue* but *quoique* Bonaparte, as a *fait accompli*. But the successor of a French emperor, and the heir of the imperial plans of conquest, combined with that hankering after Social experiments already familiar to us is a phenomenon, the unusual form of which must produce an uneasy feeling in the mind."

It appears that in the destruction of Lagos the establishments of some French merchants, who profess to trade in gum, were involved. These merchants, belonging chiefly to Marseilles, have addressed a memorial of their losses to the French government, and applications are now being made through the French embassy in London, to the British Government, for indemnity.

With reference, perhaps, to this affair, the *Siecle* published a rumour of *différences* having sprung up: in reply to which the Government journals declare, that the British and French Governments are on the best understanding with each other.

The Legislative Body resumed its sitting after the Easter recess on Tuesday afternoon; but the business transacted was brief and unimportant.

The President stated that he had received from the Minister of State a bill concerning the rehabilitation of persons condemned by the tribunals to a *peine inflictive et infamante*. For the more grave cases five years should elapse after the punishment had been borne before the application for such restoration to civil rights could be made, and three years for cases of condemnation before the correctional police; in every instance, before any demand could be entertained, the whole of the damages and costs incurred should be paid up. The bill was ordered to be printed and distributed. The President also stated that he had received other bills from the Minister of State tending to authorize the town of St. Omer, and the departments of the Hautes-Pyrenees, the Meuse, and the Pas de Calais, to contract loans. These four bills were ordered to be referred to the same committee. The order of the day was the report of the committee on the Copper-coinage Bill, but the amendments referred to the Council of State not having been sent back, the report could not be prepared. The President then stated that in a few days a series of Bills would be presented to the Assembly—one relative to certain railway lines; another

to the mortgage system; another concerning the customs; and, in addition, the budget for 1853. These various matters, the President observed, would afford full occupation to the Legislative Body to the end of the session. As it was not possible to name the precise day on which the Legislative Body would have next to meet, notice should be sent to the members at their residences. The sitting was then brought to a close at a quarter to four.

M. Miot, ex-representative of the people, condemned to deportation for no other crime than refusal to accept a passport of exile, has had his sentence graciously commuted from Cayenne to Algeria.

Colonel Guinard, condemned for the affair of June 13, 1849, having received an unconditional pardon from the President, is now at large in Paris.

Nearly 26,000,000 sterling will be required by different railway companies and by the city of Paris for public works.

Prince Schwarzenberg died in consequence of the bursting of a blood-vessel in the heart, caused by extreme and continued nervous excitement, which had sown the disease and accelerated the end. He had laboured under a *coup de sang* for a fortnight before his death. The reigning Prince, his brother, has set off to superintend the funeral at Wittingau, the family estate in Bohemia. Prince Felix has left all his movables to his natural daughter, who has English blood in her veins. She married some time since an Austrian officer of lancers, now serving in Transylvania.

The Emperor of Austria has addressed the following letter to the reigning Prince Adolphe de Schwarzenberg:—"My dear Prince,—Divine Providence has inflicted a heavy trial on your family. The sudden death of Prince Felix de Schwarzenberg is for me personally, and for the State, an event of great importance. I lose in him a faithful servant and a loyal friend, and the country a man who, in stormy times, devoted himself to my house with rare courage, and to the task with which he was charged of preserving public order and the throne with so much self-denial and with such great success, that his name will eternally occupy a glorious place in the annals of Austria. Accept, my dear prince, the assurance of my deep interest, and the expression of the regret with which my mind is agitated near the tomb of the deceased."

The official and semi-official organs publish high encomiums on the deceased, and maintain that the best recognition of his merits will be a strict and faithful adherence to his policy.

At a meeting of the three ambassadors at Vienna on the 7th, a resolution was unanimously adopted, declaring that the peace of Europe depended on the maintenance of the policy, home as well as foreign, laid down by Prince Schwarzenberg. Previous to his death the Prince is said to have drawn up a memorandum pointing out the necessity of enforcing his system. (Was England one of the three?)

On the 9th inst. the Customs Congress at Vienna resumed its sittings. Dr. Hock addressed the delegates on the subject of Prince Schwarzenberg's death, and announced that that event would not lead to any modification in the political and commercial system pursued by Austria. The emperor, he said, had given orders that this fact should be communicated to all the representatives of foreign courts.

The Prussian Minister of Commerce is just now involved in a very troublesome dispute with the directors of the Berlin and Hamburg Railway. The Prussian government insists upon the appointment of a night train to run between the two cities, a very desirable arrangement no doubt for the public. But the Hamburg, Danish (Lauenburg), and Mecklenburg governments are shareholders in this line, and object to this autocratic dictation of the Minister of one state. M. von der Heydt has menaced the Directors with a fine and deposition to compel them to run the train. On the other hand, the authorities of Hamburg and Mecklenburg interdict the appointment of the train, will not permit its passage over their territory, and threaten the infliction of a fine of double the amount of that fixed by the Prussian minister in case of disobedience.

A pamphlet, just published at Berlin, entitled *Lettre adressée à S. M. l'Empereur d'Autriche par un Gentilhomme Polonais*, has been seized and prohibited by the police; it contains an appeal to the Emperor on behalf of Count Potocki, a Galizian nobleman arrested some time ago by the Austrian Government. It is written in a declamatory style, and one passage contains a threat of vengeance from an "insulted and outraged aristocracy." An allusion is made to "the law of the cord and the scarf," and the "vigilant eye" of the tribunal that watches even the Emperor of Russia, and "would not hesitate to do justice on him as on many of his ancestors."

According to letters from Warsaw of the 23rd ult. the Czar has shown mercy—Imperial mercy—to a number of Polish noblemen now in Siberia, whither they were sent, with many who have since died, in 1834. The unhappy men are to come back to what was their home, but not a farthing of the revenues of their estates will they be allowed to handle, the government having long since appropriated the whole as rewards to its military and civil employés. The act of pardon says that only loyal subjects have a right to hold property in Russia.

The Swedish Government shows how it interprets the question of civil and religious liberty in the country by the most extraordinary announcements. It has just refused its consent to the association of seven journeymen tailors, for the very name of association is a bughbear. It has under cover of a police order ventured to prohibit every public meeting of every kind, whether for amusement or instruction, without its special permission, and has just made known its determination strictly to punish all "conventicles" or other meetings in a private house, however few or many may visit it, for religious purposes.

Since the publication of the decree upon the press, which is almost a copy of that lately promulgated in

France, almost every journal in Madrid has been daily seized and obliged to publish second editions, deprived of the offensive articles. Several companies that have been publishing great numbers of translated French novels have been constrained to close their business, novels of that class being particularly the object of governmental interference.

None of the journals comment upon the new decree concerning the press. They received a warning from the government that comments would not be permitted.

This decree, it has been remarked, does not conclude with the customary intimation that it will be presented to the Cortes for approbation. Besides the restrictions already laid down, the caution money for editors will be 1200*l.* sterling.

The publisher of the *Nacion* has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and 30,000 reals fine, for an article contained in that journal offensive to Louis Napoleon.

The King of Naples is beginning to suspect the designs of Louis Napoleon. For some time past it has been very generally reported that Louis Napoleon is preparing a demand on Naples for the Murat property, as well as the body of the ill-fated king, which is buried at Pizzo, where he was shot. All that is known is—an officer of the Charlemagne, immediately on her arrival, was sent off to the royal palace of Caserta.

The state trials are suspended for an indefinite period. The well-known Navarro, President of the Court, is dying from gangrene in the foot.

Prince San Teodoro landed in Naples (from Paris), three days since, and was immediately ordered to leave the kingdom. The prince is one of the most distinguished noblemen of Naples, and a friend of constitutional government.

Fresh supplies of arms and ammunition have been thrown into the forts of Naples and Gaeta, where the King himself has caused an additional heavy battery to be mounted with guns, which his Majesty has named after various Neapolitan generals. No one but the military are allowed to enter Gaeta; an English gentleman was refused a few days since, and obliged to return to Mola.

The authorities throughout the kingdom of Naples have received orders from the Minister of Police to watch attentively if Murat's name is uttered, and to report if they have any reason to suppose the existence of a French party. Meanwhile some fresh arrests have taken place.

A curious scene has taken place at the Royal Palace of Caserta. A monk had solicited an audience with his Majesty. On being presented, he had occasion to use his pocket-handkerchief, which the brothers wear very frequently in the sleeve of their robes. The unfortunate monk fumbled considerably in endeavouring to withdraw the handkerchief—the King became alarmed, and called in his guard. The poor man fainted, and in that state was searched, but nothing was found on his person but a few copper coins.

The *Piedmontese Gazette* states from Venice that two new frigates are building in the arsenal of that city; that the island of San Giorgio is being fortified; and that another fort is erecting to command the canals of Malamocco and Lido. The Verona, Peschiera, and Brescia Railway is to be finished before autumn, and is to be protected by fortifications connected with the general system of defence.

The Portuguese Cortes have been adjourned to the 20th of May to be further adjourned to the 20th of July. A ministerial crisis was caused by the adoption of a proposal made by a M. Mendez Leite to abolish the pain of death for political offences. The Government professed their concurrence in the principle, but demanded to bring in a special law on the subject. The expediency of dissolving the Cortes was canvassed, but that was thought too hazardous.

The total loss of the steamer *Porto*, one of the steamers employed to run between Lisbon and Oporto, has filled the city of Oporto with mourning. The steamer was in a bad state, and required repair, yet, notwithstanding this, she put to sea from Oporto on the morning of the 28th ult., at that time threatening, if not actually blowing, a gale of wind. A few hours afterwards she sustained a defect, but used every exertion to contend until the following day, when, being off Figueira, the passengers obliged the mate (who had the command of the vessel, the captain having been left on shore sick) to bear up for a port, and she re-appeared off the bar of Oporto at half-past five o'clock p.m. of that day; but unfortunately her state would not permit her to contend with the violence of the sea, and she struck on the rock on the north side of the Douro, in front of the castle of St. Joan de Foz. In this desperate situation, beating upon the rock, the sea rolling over her, and the violence of the wind almost precluding all succour, the cries of the unfortunate passengers and crew for aid only augmented the horror of the scene, while there was no life-boat or any other remedy upon which the slightest reliance could be placed as assuring the rescue of a single life. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, two pilot boats put off, only to return unsuccessful, as they were unable to sustain the contest with the all-devouring waves; yet another put off, and succeeded in so nearing the steamer as to catch a hawser which the crew of the latter threw towards her. At this critical moment, the passengers, pulling the boat towards the steamer by means of the hawser, the people in the boat let go the hawser to avoid certain death, and with it every hope of the passengers was lost; the boat was enabled to keep the sea until the middle of the night, but without being able to save any one. Others, it is said, were made of an immense amount for saving the passengers; so much as a conto of reis (220*l.*) for each one saved, yet all in vain; dismay alone reigned. Attempts were made to throw ropes to the steamer by means of rockets, but this too failed; at length the fire was quenched, and the vessel broke into two halves, and immediately sunk, the points of her masts appearing above water, with passengers clinging to them, and crying in vain for aid; and at 4 o'clock in the morning of the 30th, the sea had for ever closed over the awful scene of horror,

which had been witnessed by multitudes from the city. In this horrifying manner 37 persons have perished.

Mr. King, the American missionary, recently arrested at Athens for "malicious propaganda against the Greek Church, and sentenced to 15 days' imprisonment and a fine, with final expulsion from Greece, has indignantly protested against the outrage, refused to leave the country, and appealed to his own Government for redress. A better case, we doubt, than Don Pacifico's."

A telegraphic despatch from Constantinople, of the 29th, informs us that the Porte has agreed to the proposition of Sir Stratford Canning, to allow Abbas Pacha to exercise during three years longer the power without appeal over life and death, a settlement in which Austria concurs.

The *Belgrade Gazette* announces that (in pursuance of the arrangement reported by us three weeks since), the British consul-general had rehoisted his flag, on the 3rd inst., under a salute of twenty-one guns from the artillery barracks, and resumed his usual intercourse with the local government.

The *Temesvar*, a Hungarian journal, quotes correspondence from Mecca, from which it appears that the rebel Wechabites have beaten the Sultan's troops, taken possession of the Holy City, and are threatening Syria.

The *Belgian Indépendance* says it has been assured that orders have just been transmitted to the frontier, to prevent in future the entry into Belgium of persons expelled from France.

The Belgian Government has carried out its promise to Russia, to dismiss all the Polish officers in its service. All the officers have been either dismissed or placed on the retired list. Several of them protested against the measure as an injustice. General Kruszewski has arrived in Paris. King Leopold, in bidding the officers adieu, expressed his regret that political necessities obliged him to adopt so harsh a measure.

The following letter was addressed by M. Martin (de Strasbourg) to the Procureur-Général, announcing his resignation:—

"Mons. le Procureur-Général.—My convictions and my entire political life are opposed to my taking the oath prescribed by the decree of the 5th inst. I am consequently determined to dispose of my office, and I have the honour to inform you that I have resigned in favour of the successor whom the 91st article of the law of the 28th April, 1816, gives me a right to present for the approbation of the Government. I have addressed the documents, according to custom, to the Council of the Order of Advocates appointed to give their opinion on the agreement I have signed."

"Accept, Monsieur le Procureur-Général, the expression of my respect."

"MARTIN (DE STRASBOURG)."

In consequence of M. Martin de Strasbourg's refusal to take the oath of fidelity to Louis Napoleon, it is reported that there is serious intention of striking him at once from the roll of advocates of the Court of Cassation, and preventing him from availing himself of his privilege to sell his office, and appoint his successor.

LOUIS BLANC ON FRENCH SOCIALISM.

WHAT FRENCH SOCIALISM IS, AND IS NOT.

LETTER VI.

THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS, FAR FROM PREACHING SELFISHNESS TO THE WORKING-CLASS, HAVE PREACHED DEVOTEDNESS: FAR FROM APPEALING TO PERSONAL INTEREST, THEY HAVE EVER ADDRESSED THEMSELVES TO THE SENTIMENT OF DUTY.

I resume the course of my letters, which have for a moment been interrupted; and as I am unwilling to degrade a discussion, ranging far above paltry human passions, I shall no longer concern myself with M. Mazzini.

To be conscious of having committed an injustice, should be a bitter grief to any man; if it ever befall M. Mazzini, I will forgive him; if not, I pity him."

The writings of the Socialists are before the world: why have they been constantly attacked, and never quoted? Open the *Provincial Letters* of Pascal, you will there find the reply. Do men quote those whom they have made up their mind to calumniate?

For example, the Socialists have written:

We have received from God certain faculties—the faculty of love, of knowledge, of action. But these faculties were not given us to employ in solitary isolation, since they, even essentially, suppose a society, in the midst of which they may be exercised. They are, consequently, the supreme indication of what each one of us owes to the society of which he is a member; and that indication God himself seems to have written with his own hand, and in shining characters, in our very organization. If your strength is twice as great as mine, it is a proof that God has destined you to bear a burden twice as heavy as mine. If you are more intelligent, God has destined you to diffuse around more light. Weakness is the creditor of strength, ignorance of instruction. The more a man can do, the more he ought to do; and that is the sense in which we read the immortal saying of Christ: *Let the first among you be the servant of all.* Hence, then, FROM EVERY MAN ACCORDING TO HIS FACULTIES. Such is DUTY.

* One fact, however, I may be allowed to recall. At the time when I was a member of the Provisional Government, M. Mazzini wrote me a letter, in which he begged me, on behalf of a lady, a friend of his, to accord a friendly and sympathetic permission to translate into English my treatise on the *Organization of Labour*. I heartily responded to M. Mazzini's desire; and, in effect, the person of whom I speak, a lady of elevated mind and noble heart, translated my work. Thus we find that in 1848, when Socialism was in power, M. Mazzini made advances to me, the intention and effect of which was to spread in England the same ideas that he now so violently denounces to the English people:—now that Socialism is in exile!

But together with our faculties we have been endowed by God with certain wants: intellectual, moral, physical; wants of the heart, of the mind, of the imagination. We can each of us completely fulfil his potentialities, his function, and accomplish his destiny, so long as social institutions shall not lend themselves to the complete development of the human being in each of us, by the satisfaction of those wants which the organization of each compels. Hence then, taking the word WANTS in its broadest and noblest sense:—TO EVERY MAN ACCORDING TO HIS WANTS: such is RIGHT.

Thus, the doctrine that conciliates the requirements of society with those of the individual may be summed up in this formula, at once so simple, so striking, so elevated, and so practical: FROM EVERY MAN ACCORDING TO HIS FACULTIES: TO EVERY MAN ACCORDING TO HIS WANTS.

From every man according to his faculties, and consequently the necessity of striving progressively after the constitution of a social order in which there should be no more idlers, no more parasites, no more egots.

To every man according to his wants, and consequently the necessity of striving progressively after the constitution of a social order in which there should be no more thieves, no more prostitutes.

Such is the doctrine we find expounded, developed, defended in numerous Socialist works. Well then, what have the detractors of the new idea done?

Some have pretended to believe that by words the Socialists understood nothing better than vulgar appetites and carnal lusts; and from this text they have proceeded to accuse Socialism of resulting in a filthy materialism.

Others, even more astutely disingenuous, have evaded the formula while they cited it. They have said that that part of the formula which expresses the right, and have cited that part only which expresses the right, and have falsely affirming that the religion of the Socialists is really composed in these words,—to each man according to his wants, they triumphantly exclaim: You see! the Socialists suppress the idea of devotedness, they suppress the idea of duty!

Thus have the calumniators by interpretation, and the calumniators by omission, met together as on a common ground, to mislead the ignorance of many sincere minds; and thus has Socialism become a bugbear and a term, by want of being known.

Ah! in the face of these miserable manoeuvres, how can I desist from repeating the celebrated denial with which the avenging and indignant genius of the great Pascal branded for evermore the brows of the disciples of Escobar?

Thoroughly resolved as I am to reply to supporters by facts only, and to allegations only by proofs, I should have been glad to be able to arm myself with texts borrowed from the scientific expositions of Cabet, and of Vidal, from the popular publications of Cabet, from the writings of Pierre Leroux—writings, so full of unctuous eloquence, of grave tenderness, of profound meaning. Unfortunately, not having these various works at hand at this moment, I am obliged to defer to a future number of the *Leader* the important citations which they will furnish me. Meanwhile, I beg the reader to pardon me if I begin by texts which I ought to have postponed to all others,—by those, namely, which are drawn from my own works.

When the Socialists aimed at the suppression of pauperism, were they yielding to the desires of a gross materialism? Did they believe that to *fatten* was to regenerate the people, when they ardently yearned for the amelioration of the physical condition of the people? The following extract from a Socialist work published twelve years ago will enable the reader to judge:—

"When we ask that the right to live by labour shall be regulated and guaranteed, we do even better than snatch millions of unfortunate beings from the oppression of force or of fate—we embrace in its highest generalization, in its most profound significance, the cause of the human being. We salute the Creator in his work. Wherever the certainty of living by labour does not spring from the very essence of social institutions, inquiry reigns."

"Now, the man who rises up against inquiry can never be accused of a selfish purpose, were he even the only sufferer in the world by the wrong; for in our day it represents all wrongs and all principles, and it involves humanity."

"Far from displaying materialist preoccupations, the Organization of Labour, in desiring the suppression of misery, rests on the deepest spiritualism. Misery retains the intelligence of man in darkness confining education within shameful limits. Misery incessantly counsels the sacrifice of personal dignity, and almost always commands it. Misery creates a dependency of condition for the man who is of an independent character, so that it makes a new torture beneath a virtue, and turns to venom the generous blood. If misery engenders suffering, it also engenders crime; if it leads to the hospital, it also leads to the hulks. It makes slaves; it makes thieves, assassins, prostitutes."

"We desire, then, such an organization of labour as shall bring about the suppression of pauperism, not only that the material sufferings of the people may be relieved, but, above all, that every man may be restored to self-respect; that the excess of misfortune may stifle in no breast the noble aspirations of thought and the satiations of a legitimate pride; that there may be room for all in the domain of education and of the sources of intelligence; that there may be no more man enslaved, absorbed in superintendence of a rolling wheel; no more children transformed into a supplement of wages for their parents; no more mothers grudging life to the very fruit of their womb, from despair of their own livelihood; no more young girls reduced to sell the sweet name of love for a morsel of bread!"

"We desire the organization of labour, in order that the people's souls—their souls, I say—may not remain ruined and pressed down under the tyranny of things."

"Why separate that which it has pleased God to make so absolutely inseparable in the human being? For indeed life is twofold in its manifestations, but it is one in its principle. It is impossible to affect one of these two modes of existence without affecting the other. When the body is struck, it is not the soul that groans? The hand of the mendicant stretched out towards me reveals to me the compelled degradation of his moral nature, and in the movement of that kneeling and trembling slave I discover the abasement of his heart."

* *Organization du Travail*, Introduction, pp. 3-4.

rests, supposed to be conflicting, but which we believe to be identical, instead of extending the franchise over the country. The constituency will be increased by this measure; but the increase will be found, in the actual working, to produce little practical improvement; for the whole measure is restrictive in its character, and entirely overlooks the large and rising communities of our great towns, although these are the chief centres of our national intelligence, and the principal sources of our national prosperity.

On the whole, we would earnestly recommend all our fellow-countrymen to adopt vigorous, constitutional, and peaceful means to secure a full, just, and safe measure of real reform, instead of the delusive scheme which has been laid before Parliament. To carry this object meetings must, of course, be held, resolutions passed, and petitions adopted; all which modes of action are open to every British subject.

The friends of this cause will find much to aid them in the publications and efforts of the National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association—a body which, by its untiring energy and perseverance, under the presidency of Sir Joshua Walsley, has done and is doing much worthy of its patriotism, and calculated to vindicate and secure the rights of the people, and to entitle it to the cordial sympathy and support of the public.

The franchise is a trust bestowed by Divine Providence as a means of securing the welfare and good order of the community; and every man has a solemn duty to perform in the discharge of that trust. But the Christian, above all, is under special obligation to contribute his share of activity to every movement calculated to bring at once glory to God, peace on earth, and good will to men.

Thomas Archer, D.D.; Thomas Aveling; W. R. Baker; Henry N. Barnett; H. Batchelor, B.A.; R. S. Bayley, F.A.S.; William Bean; James Bennett, D.D.; John Blackburn; James H. Blake; W. A. Blake; W. H. Bonner; W. Blackwell Boves; James Baldwin Brown, B.A.; Samuel Brown; John Bunter; John Burnet; Jabez Burns, D.D.; L. H. Byrnes; William Campbell, M.A.; John M. Charlton, M.A.; E. Corbushley; George Corney; Daniel Curtis; John Chapman Davis; Ebenezer Davies; John Davies; S. A. Davies; Stephen J. Davis; Isaac Dosey; Clement Dukes, M.A.; William Henry Elliott; J. Emblem; James C. Gallaway, M.A.; Jonathan George; Robert Gibson; A. Good; Samuel Green; Robert Hamilton; Ebenezer Harris; John Harris, D.D.; Thomas W. Jenkyn, D.D. F.G.S.; B. Kent; Robert Mackray, M.A.; Henry Marchmont; D. Martin; Joseph Mather; Samuel Milner; John Morison, D.D. L.L.D.; Joseph Morison; J. Vale Mummery; Frederick Neller; William Owen; William Stern Palmer; G. W. Pegg; Samuel Ransom; J. W. Richardson; John Robertson, M.A.; George Rose; Joseph Rothery; Robert Simpson, M.A.; Philip Smith, B.A.; Samuel Joseph Smith, B.A.; James Spong; John Stevenson, M.A.; Alexander Stewart; William Hendry Stowell, D.D.; David Thomas; George B. Thomas; Thomas Timpson; Frederick Trestrail; William Tyler; William Underwood; Charles Fox Vardy, M.A.; George Verrall; W. Walters; William Ward; William Weare; Charles Williams; B. Woodyard; William Young.

SIR FITZROY KELLY ON THE DERBY POLICY.

SIR FITZROY KELLY, having decided to stand for East Suffolk, where the death of Lord Rendlesham has caused a vacancy, visited Woodbridge, a thriving town in that division of the county, on Wednesday; and after the business of the market was over, addressed the farmers and others present from a window overlooking the market-place. He asked them what benefit they had received from Free-trade. Free-trade, when applied to some articles of general consumption, was a great benefit; but Sir Robert Peel had gone too far. The repeal of the Corn-laws which that statesman effected in the last year of his power, was intended only as an experiment. It might be impracticable to restore the Corn-laws, but the Earl of Derby, if the constituencies of the country should support him at the general election, was resolved to apply a "substantial and effectual remedy" to the grievances under which agriculture is now labouring. With regard to the Maynooth grant, it was a serious matter to decide whether the faith of the country was pledged or not to its continuance, but in his opinion it had not improved the character of the Irish priesthood, and he should cordially support a motion for a committee of inquiry into the subject; and if that committee of inquiry should consider that it was possible to put an end to that grant, he should rejoice to concur with the Government in an act to repeal and put an end to it. Sir Fitzroy concluded by assuring the meeting that if elected he should do his duty by them and the country. Three cheers for Sir Fitzroy Kelly, and the assemblage dispersed.

REPEAL OF THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

To the RIGHT HONORABLE BENJAMIN DISRAELI, Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Memorial of the Association for Promoting the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge.

(Presented by Mr. MILNER GIBSON.)

SIR,—When, two years ago, we had the honour of addressing the then first lord of the treasury on the subject of the newspaper stamp, his lordship hinted that there was no disinclination on the part of Government to do anything that might tend to advance the enlightenment of the people; and he has since emphatically disavowed any desire to retain the taxes on knowledge for the purpose of curbing the free expression of public opinion.

We shall not, therefore, repeat at length arguments which have already been admitted by government to be based in truth; but we are anxious to point out the very peculiar state in which the press of this country now stands, and to protest against the doctrine, that any portion of revenue should be obtained by a process which obstructs the progress of knowledge, and the formation of a sound public opinion.

We beg respectfully to submit—

That taxation is mischievous, not so much in proportion to its amount, as to the manner in which it is levied.

That all taxes which impede the diffusion of knowledge, are injurious to the best interests of the public.

That the tax upon newspapers—called the stamp—the excise duty upon paper, and the tax upon advertisements, are direct obstacles to the spread of all kinds of valuable information amongst the great body of the people.

That the paper duty, besides crippling the paper trade and driving the small capitalists out of the market, pollutes the springs of popular instruction, by destroying the fund which in cheap publications would otherwise be spent in authorship; and thus substitutes rubbish in the place of wholesome instruction.

That an ADVERTISER may be considered in the light of a steward to the public, spending a large sum, which is ultimately to be repaid in the price of the article; therefore any saving in the cost of advertising is a general and public benefit, as effecting a reduction in the cost of the article itself.

That the inequality and partiality of the duty consists in its being levied only on announcements in Periodicals (leaving untaxed, posting-bills, circulars, placards in omnibuses or rail carriages, and all other announcements), and in the charge being without discrimination, either of the value of the thing advertised, the length (whether one or 100 lines), or of the number of impressions printed.

That from the tables printed in the Report of the Parliamentary Committee (which sat last session), showing the number of newspaper stamps issued during thirteen years to the various papers in Great Britain, may be gathered:—that of an advertisement inserted in the seven best selling papers, 350,000 impressions are circulated at a cost for duty (at 1s. 6d. each) of 10s. 6d.; and that the duty for the same number of impressions obtained from the average selling papers of Great Britain (taken at 1500 each), would amount to 17l. 10s.

That this disproportion is increased by bad debts, and must remain as long as the tax is levied in the present mode, and forms a serious impediment to advertisers who would avail themselves of the local and class papers, which papers are those deliberately read by country gentlemen and men of leisure, and those which penetrate to the family circle.

That the aggregate of a six months sale would, of course, compensate for the smaller individual editions, and that this invaluable medium might be secured by a standing advertisement, were it not that the duty is reimposed at each change of date, preventing such an arrangement for price as would be equally advantageous to the advertiser, the newspaper proprietor, and the public.

That an advertisement in a paper circulating 36,000 shall cost 7s., which sum represents—share of paper, printing, composition, 5s. 6d.; and duty once, 1s. 6d. . . £0 7 0

That the same put into a country paper, circulating 1500, would require its insertion twenty-four times to get 36,000, costing the newspaper proprietor as before for paper, printing, and composition, 5s. 6d., but for duty 36s. 2 1 6

Two years ago we complained of the inequality in the administration of the law; but we then believed that a definite law existed on the subject of newspaper stamps; we were of opinion that the four rules laid down by the officers of the crown were strictly legal. These rules were—

1st, That a registered newspaper was a newspaper in virtue of its registration.

2nd, That any paper containing public news was a newspaper without regard to the intervals of its publication.

3rd, That any paper published oftener than once in twenty-six days, was a newspaper, if it consisted chiefly of advertisements.

4th, That any paper containing comments on public news, published oftener than once in twenty-six days, was a newspaper, unless it reached a certain size and price.

About twenty-one months ago, the Crown commenced proceedings against the *Household Narrative*—a monthly paper; the Crown contending that as that paper contained the events of the previous month up to the day of publication, it was a newspaper, and liable to stamp-duty under the first clause in the schedule of 6 & 7 Wm. IV. cap. 76. As the *Household Narrative* was a registered newspaper, we cannot but think the law officers of the Crown were to blame for not demanding a decision on the question, whether a registered newspaper is a newspaper in virtue of its registration.

The decision in this case has been, that a certain infrequency of publication prevents a journal from being a newspaper; and that it is lawful to print news, however recent, in any paper that is not published oftener than once in twenty-six days.

With regard to the effect of this decision, we beg to quote the following question put by Mr. Rich to the solicitor to the Board of Inland Revenue, when examined before the Newspaper Stamp Committee, which sat last Session.

MR. RICH: "If Mr. Dickens were now to establish his right to publish his newspaper monthly, would it not be competent for him to combine with some other persons, who might also bring out what they called a monthly newspaper, and then publish them in succession on the first week, the second week, the third week, and the fourth week of every month, whereby they would, in fact, have a weekly newspaper, and avoid paying the stamp-duty."

MR. TIMM: "Certainly, that plan might be adopted; and unless we could prove that these publications were one and the same, the newspaper stamp-duty would be evaded altogether."

It appears, then, sir, that though it is a breach of the newspaper act for one man to publish one paper oftener than once a month, it is not contrary to that act for five men to publish five monthly papers at such intervals as would give their customers the advantage of a weekly paper; nor for twenty-seven men to publish twenty-seven monthly papers, at such intervals as would give the advantage of a daily paper. You, sir, perhaps are not aware that, in almost every small town, a local organ would naturally establish itself, if not prevented by the Stamp-office. In several places, monthly papers have been put down, or forced to stamp; and if the recent decision of the Court of Exchequer is a correct interpretation of the law, it now appears that such conduct on the part of the Stamp-office has been not only oppressive, but illegal.

But there are other points of law besides those we have alluded to, which require to be decided. To publish public news, except at intervals of twenty-six days, renders the publisher liable to a fine of twenty pounds per copy; but the Stamp-office appears to be unable to define what is public news. The solicitor, Mr. Timm, states that the Queen's Speech is news, and that the Chancellor of the Exchequer's is not—a distinction which we are utterly unable to comprehend, and in which the secretary, Mr. Keogh, does not concur. It is the practice to allow weekly papers devoted to any class interest, not only to publish any news bearing on that interest, but any discussion by members of such class on matters of general politics. Thus, the *Builder* contains, not only news about building, but information respecting the alterations in the taxes which affect building. The *Racing Times* gives reports of trials connected with the turf; and the *Legal Observer* not only gives reports of trials, but political news, and reports the meetings of lawyers on the subject of what is called Papal aggression. All these are weekly papers, partially stamped, and, if published in the country, would certainly be compelled to stamp every copy.

The question, What is a commentary on public news? is also one that requires decision, since in the country a strict rule is generally applied on this head, while in London all sorts of political comments are permitted to be published every week, without a stamp.

There is considerable reason to believe that the recent decision has swept away the first clause of the schedule to the 6 & 7 Wm. IV. cap. 76; and if so, any daily or weekly paper, containing more than 714 square inches, and sold for not less than sixpence, exclusive of

daily, is not a newspaper—a state of things which would enable nearly all the London weekly papers to come out without a stamp.

We would especially direct your attention to the following suggestion, given by a member of the late government, during the examination of Mr. Timm before the Parliamentary Committee, which sat last session, on the subject of newspaper stamps.

"In all questions of law, have you not found it very difficult to define precisely the matter at issue, and that the definition is generally made out by experience from proceedings before the courts?"

We cannot but consider the above suggestion as marvellous: at any rate, to say that the legislature is incapable of making an intelligible law, and that the law must be broken before it can be understood, is an invitation to the people to try conclusions with the government.

We cannot, then, doubt that you will feel bound to prepare a new Act of Parliament, by which all existing duties may be removed.

The government has lately asserted, that the newspaper stamp was a revenue question; we humbly suggest that this idea is an error: a perusal of the 60 Geo. III. cap. 9, will show that the object of the extension of the stamp duty made by that act, was to cripple the press, while the exemption from duty which that act conferred on large and dear papers, which could best afford to pay duty, shows that revenue was not the object.

Our opinion on this subject is strengthened by the fact, that since the decision of the Court of Exchequer in the case of Charles Dickens's *Household Narrative*, the Solicitor to the Board of Inland Revenue has revised this act, which has been obsolete since 1806. John Gardiner, of Wisbech, in the year 1845, commenced the publication of the *Wisbech Advertiser* without a stamp. At the command of the Stamp-office he registered his paper as a newspaper, and paid stamp-duty on every copy; this compliance with the will of the Commissioners of Stamps of course ceased when their interpretation of the law was contradicted by the Court of Exchequer, and Mr. Gardiner brought out the *Wisbech Advertiser* without a stamp, and advertised a new paper, to be brought out in the middle of the month, to be called the *Wisbech Record*. He has given up this project in consequence of a letter from Mr. Timm, stating that the 6th Geo. III., cap. 9, clause 4, prohibits monthly publications, under a penalty of 20*l.*, from being published on any day except the first of the calendar month, or two days before or after.

But, sir, so much of the 60th Geo. III., cap. 9, as imposes stamp-duty is repealed by the 6th & 7th Wm. IV., cap. 76; and we contend that, as clause 1 imposes stamp-duty on daily and weekly periodicals, clause 4 is a subsidiary clause, meant to prevent any evasion of clause 1, by bringing out weekly periodicals under the guise of monthly ones.

If, however, clause 4 is unrepealed, it must be considered as a substantive provision for the purpose described in the act, namely, protecting "our constitution and our holy religion by restraining the publication of seditious and blasphemous papers in great numbers, and at small prices."

We submit, then, sir, that if this clause is unrepealed it is not a revenue clause, and that Excise officers are not exactly the persons with whom a government can safely trust the protection of religion.

We feel it also our duty to state, that so anxious are we to ascertain whether this clause is still the law, that we have encouraged Mr. Turner, of Stoke-upon-Trent, to publish a newspaper in the middle of the month, on purpose that the question may be tried before a Court of Record on the prosecution of the Government, such paper to be discontinued if the Court declare it illegal.

And here we would state that one of the great evils of the present system is the substitution of the opinion of the Board of Inland Revenue for the decision of a superior court or the verdict of a jury.

A country publisher, having to pay costs, even if successful, is obliged to pay implicit obedience to the Stamp-office, as he cannot afford to gain a cause against the Crown, much less to lose one, while nobody but the Attorney-General or the Board of Inland Revenue is allowed to institute proceedings; so that the London publishers, whom the Board dare not touch, violate the law every week without the slightest impediment.

In a late speech of yours, sir, we find an opinion given, that the press should be dependent only on its readers, and never on the government; that this independence is impossible under a stamp, is shown by the following table; by which it appears, that nearly all the London daily press, except the *Times*, is gradually sinking—a fact which we attribute to the necessity which the stamp creates for them all to come out at one price.

	1837.	1845.	1846.	1850.
Morning Chron....	1,940,000	1,554,000	1,336,000	912,547
Morning Herald....	1,928,000	2,018,025	1,752,000	1,139,000
Standard	1,330,000	846,000	750,000	402,000
Morning Post	735,000	1,200,500	1,450,500	828,000
Daily News			3,520,500	1,152,000
Morn. Advertiser....	1,380,000	1,440,000	1,480,000	1,540,843
Globe	864,000	852,000	764,000	585,000
Sun	794,000	1,098,500	1,104,000	843,500
True Sun	308,000			
Total, exclusive of the Times }	9,369,000	9,000,025	12,207,000	7,501,890
Times	3,065,000	8,100,000	8,950,000	11,900,000

In this table there is one encouraging fact. The *Daily News* while it sold at threepence had a circulation of three millions and a half, of which three millions were purchased by persons who never took—as is shown by the increase for that year, amounting to 3,300,000—a daily paper before. Nor is the gap filled up which was caused by its rise in price.

It is clear, therefore, that there is no fair field for any increase in the number of fivepenny papers; but that for papers at a lower price there is a field open in England, as well as in Belgium and America.

Should the stamp continue much longer, we may expect to lose nearly all our morning papers; by taking off the stamp, a field will be opened which will enable us to have a daily press dependent only on the public.

Our opinion on the subject of the newspaper stamp is supported by that of the Parliamentary Committee, who reported last session that, apart from fiscal considerations, news was not a desirable subject of taxation.

Your memorialists, therefore, pray that you, sir, will take into serious consideration the propriety of introducing an Act of Parliament for exempting the press from all taxation, and liberating it from all control except that of a court of law.

Signed by order of the Committee, and on their behalf, by

FRANCIS PLACE, *Treasurer*, Temple-lodge, Ham-mersmith.

J. ALFRED NOVELLO, *Sub-Treasurer*, 69, Dean-street, Soho.

RICHARD MOORE, *Chairman*, 25, Hart-street, Bloomsbury.

C. DOBSON COLLET, *Secretary*, 20, Great Corn-street, Brunswick-square.

THE MISSING ARCTIC EXPEDITION.

THE morning papers of Wednesday, (that is, some, for the *Chronicle* and *Daily News* were pointedly excluded,) published a singular set of documents, evidently supplied by the Admiralty, respecting the missing Arctic Expedition. A merchant captain at Tynemouth, stated lately, in conversation with an officer of one of her Majesty's ships, that two three-masted vessels had been seen on an iceberg off Newfoundland, in April, 1851, by the brig *Renovation*, of North Shields, on her passage to Quebec. This statement being accompanied with a surmise as to the possibility of their being Sir John Franklin's ships, the Lords of the Admiralty have instituted the most rigid inquiry. Letters have been written to the collectors of Customs at all the whaling ports in England and Scotland, in order to ascertain if any whalers answering to the description given were missing in 1850 or 1851; and the master of the *Renovation* will be closely interrogated on his arrival at Venice. There is great agreement among the persons who are said to have seen the ships in the accounts they give.

The master of the *Renovation*, Mr. Coward, is reported as having originally told the story to a fellow sailor at Quebec, thus:—

"When near the east edge of the bank; in latitude 45 deg. 30 min. N., wind N.E., fresh breezes and clear weather, as much as I could carry foretopmast studding sail, fell in with icebergs, one of which was very large, with field ice attached to it, in which there were two three-masted ships, having their masts struck and yards down, and all made snug; to all appearance they had passed the winter together in the ice. At about five o'clock in the morning, when within one mile of them, the mate called me to see the berg and ships. By the time I got up and dressed and on deck, my ship was abreast of them; took spying-glass and carefully examined them, to see if there was any one on board, but could not see any one. At the time I did not think of Sir John Franklin's missing ships, anxiety to get ahead out of the danger while the weather was clear from fogs, and being too far past before I could make up my mind, caused me not to reduce sail and examine them more accurately. I am since of opinion they might possibly be the missing ships."

Mr. Simpson, now of the *British Queen*, formerly mate of the *Renovation*, says—

"About the 20th of April, 1851, Mr. Simpson, then mate of the *Renovation*, saw two full-rigged ships (about six a.m., one larger than the other) on an iceberg about 10 or 12 feet high, about five miles long. The largest vessel was on her beam-ends, head to the westward; the smaller one head south, and upright, with topmast on end, and no

topgallant mast. The *Renovation* was then about 30 miles west of Cape Race, and the iceberg about five miles north-west. The master was very sick at the time, and the mate could not take it upon himself to bear up for the iceberg. A Mr. Joseph Lynch also saw the vessels, besides all the mates. The *Renovation* at that time was under double reefed fore and main topsails and forecourse, blowing very strong. The morning was very clear, and the mate cannot recollect any further particulars, and cannot tell whether the log is on board the *Renovation*, or whether the owners have it. The owner is Emanuel Young, a large ship-owner in North Shields—Northumberland-square."

One circumstance in this affair corroborates in a striking way the story of the sailors. In the *Limerick Chronicle* of May 29, 1851, there was printed the following letter:—

Quebec, May 9, 1851.

"We arrived here, yesterday, after a passage which, for the first thirteen days, promised to be one of the speediest almost on record, having been two miles to the west of the Bird Island in the Gulf at the time we met the ice, and having been for sixteen days coasting along it, with a fair wind ever since; it has been very rough and a number of ships have suffered severely; indeed, to attempt to give any description of the ice would be useless. We have sailed for sixty miles of a stretch, seeking an opening without being able to effect one, which was most vexatious, as had we not met with it we should have made the passage in fifteen-and-a-half days. The icebergs we met with were frightful in size, as the bases of some of them would cover three times over the area of Limerick, and I do not at all exaggerate when I say that the steeple of the Cathedral would have appeared but a small pinnacle compared to the spires on some of them; and most to be regretted is that we met, or rather saw at a distance, one with two ships on it, which, I am almost sure, belonged to Franklin's exploring squadron, as, from the latitude and longitude we met them in, they were drifting from the direction of Davis's Straits. Was there but a single one, it might have been a deserted whaler, but two so near each other, they must have been consorts. They were to windward of us, and a heavy sea running at the time, with thick weather coming on, so that we could not board them."

All the men hitherto mentioned bear good characters. The subject is exciting great interest.

CONTINUED OUTRAGES ON BRITISH SUBJECTS ABROAD.

"I HAVE now on my writing-table," writes an intelligent correspondent from Florence, to the *Daily News*, "papers containing full details of no less than thirteen cases of outrages inflicted on British subjects in the Tuscan dominions, none bearing date earlier than 1850. Let us glance at two or three:—

"In the autumn of last year, Captain Arthur Walker was dragged through the most public streets of Florence, by the police, and imprisoned for twenty-two hours, for having been found in the house of a most respectable Florentine, named Marliai (?), the said Marliai having incurred the vengeance of the authorities in consequence of his being known to read his Bible. Again, a Mr. Newton, an architect, seized by the police at Volterra, ill-treated and beaten. He, however, succeeded, with the assistance of her Majesty's legation, in obtaining, in the legal tribunals, a verdict in his favour. The policeman who ill-treated him was sentenced to a temporary imprisonment, but Mr. Newton himself saw him within the term of that imprisonment on duty at Pisa. Again, the case of Dr. Aiton, a retired surgeon of the navy, who proceeded to England, was, on his arrival at Pietra Santa, arrested by the police, and detained in prison a day and night, although his passport was perfectly *en règle*; the only cause assigned for this treatment was, that his dress probably an artist's chapeau, was calculated to excite a disturbance. Then we have the case of Mr. Mather, which has recently occurred, and caused so much excitement. This gentleman has, however, as we are informed here compounded with his enemies, having made a demand of money as indemnity. This intelligence has caused the greatest indignation, in consequence of the high tone he assumed at the time that some effort was being made to bring about an apology on the part of the offending Austrian officer, and his subsequent indignant denial of the very idea of his being willing to accept any pecuniary recompense."

Another correspondent of the same journal writes from Florence, regarding a recent transaction in Tuscany, which he says has been treated with great indifference, arising, probably, from ignorance of the real facts, by members of the British Parliament.

"On or about the 15th of March, allusion was made in both Houses of Parliament to the case of Corporal Baggs, of the Marine Artillery, belonging to her Majesty's steamer, the *Firebrand*, commanded by Captain Codd, and at that time stationed at Leghorn. Lord Malmesbury stated that the non-commissioned officer in question had been harshly treated, and imprisoned by the Tuscan police, but the superior officer of police had himself been imprisoned in consequence, and satisfactory reparation made. Such, or nearly so, was Lord Malmesbury's statement. The statement I proceed to make is literally and substantially correct in every particular, and nothing is therein inserted of which I have not ascertained the truth. On Sunday, 15th February, Baggs, a corporal of marine artillery, obtained leave from his commanding officer to go on shore, and remain absent until Monday morning. During the Tuesday evening, Corporal Baggs, when walking in the streets of Leghorn, perceived that he was followed by two or three police officers. As this dogging his footsteps was pertinaciously continued, and was naturally offensive to him, he remonstrated, telling them in English

that he was on leave, and wished to be allowed to follow the bent of his own inclinations. Doubtless this remonstrance on the part of the corporal would have had but little effect, as, neither understanding the other's language, nor colloquy, however eloquently maintained, would, under the circumstances, be but lost breath. Fortunately, a Maltese gentleman happened to pass by, and seeing a non-commissioned officer of her Majesty's marines in earnest conversation with Italian gendarmes, stopped, and kindly offered his services as interpreter. He immediately perceived the true state of the case, clearly explaining to the gendarmes that the man was on leave, that leave extending to the following morning; that he was, moreover, a non-commissioned officer, and, as such, entitled to respect. The gendarmes still stated their intention to follow the man. The corporal then volunteered to accompany them to the nearest police-office, to request that he might be no longer molested. Here the Maltese, having as he thought done all that was requisite, disappears from the scene. The corporal enters the police-office, and at the same time one of the gendarmes runs to another office but little distant, and procures an iron chain; with this he and his comrades, strong in numbers as in insolence, attempt to bind the unfortunate Baggs, who, however, being a man of most powerful frame, and indignant at the outrageous treatment he was receiving, smashes the manacles they are attempting to put on him, and very nearly puts the whole force to flight. It speaks strongly in the man's favour, that though master of the field for the moment, he struck no one, but merely used his best efforts to obtain his liberty. Baggs was eventually mastered; a reinforcement of men and chains arrived, and the corporal was bagged. The cowardly ruffians, then quite sure of their prey, struck him repeatedly, and inflicted a severe wound on his forehead. Baggs was next laid flat on his back, bound in chains on the table of the police-office until the following morning; he was then, in broad daylight, marched in irons, still, of course, in his uniform, through the streets of Lghorn to another police-office, where he was eventually found by an officer of his ship sent in search of him. Now, it is necessary to add to this statement the fact, as fully proved by all the witnesses (whose depositions were, doubtless, forwarded to her Majesty's Government by her Majesty's *chargé d'affaires*) that Corporal Baggs was perfectly sober, was offending no one, was creating no disturbance, or outraging any national prejudices or customs; he was simply amusing himself—this evidence is strongly corroborated by the irreproachable character given the man by Captain Codd; indeed it appears no man on the ship's books was more highly esteemed by his officers. Captain Codd immediately entered into communication with Mr. Scarlett, the *chargé d'affaires*, by whom the case was most warmly taken up. A very serious correspondence ensued between Captain Codd, her Majesty's *chargé d'affaires*, and the Tuscan government, and I have every reason to believe with a result so little satisfactory, that Mr. Scarlett threatened to demand his passports unless reparation was made in seven days. Before the expiration of that time, the Duc de Casigliano offered as redress that the offending corporal of gendarmes (not the superior officers of police, as stated by Lord Malmesbury,) should be suspended, and put under arrest for eight days. As the case was referred to the Foreign-office in London, we may presume that this misadventure was justly considered by Mr. Scarlett as no reparation at all—the more so, as no security was given that the said punishment would be inflicted, and it is notorious that the Tuscan government upheld the conduct of their authorities, but being compelled by the firm and decided conduct of Mr. Scarlett to do something, they went through the farce of pretending to sacrifice a subordinate officer of police. I am credibly informed, from an unerring source in Paris, that the Duc de Casigliano sent instructions to Prince Joseph Poniatowsky, the representative of Tuscany at the courts of England and France, to make a statement of the case to the Foreign-office in London, and to demand that Captain Codd should be reprimanded.

Verily, it would seem that under a Tory Government the uniform of a British officer may no longer prefer the commonest claim to be treated with respect; on the contrary, it must endeavour to atone for the supposed liberal tendencies of British subjects in plain clothes, by a more conspicuous submission to outrage, and by a more ostentatious humiliation.

LORD DERBY AT THE MANSION-HOUSE.

EASTER MONDAY is a great day for London proper. The Lord Mayor goes to Church in his stupendous triumphal car; the Blue-coat boys are admitted to an audience of the civic satrap, and are regaled with buns, and "tipped" with sixpences; Bow bells are rung industriously; and the glories of the day are crowned by a banquet at the Mansion-house, to which the Cabinet Ministers are always invited, and at which two or three generally arrange to be present. The Earl of Derby, the Premier, according to long-established etiquette in the case of a new Ministry, honoured the Lord Mayor with his company on Monday last. The banquet in the Egyptian Hall was of the usual sumptuous description; covers were laid for 350. Mr. Abbot Lawrence, the American Minister, the Turkish Minister, and Madame Musurus, Baron Bentinck, the Dutch Envoy, and the Swedish Minister, represented the *corps diplomatique*. Besides Lord Derby, the members of Government present were, the Duke of Northumberland with his Duchess, the Earl of Hardwicke with his Countess, Mr. Secretary Walpole and Mrs. Walpole, the Judge Advocate, the Solicitor

General, and the Right Hon. Cecil Forester. When the cloth had been cleared away, and the "loving cup" had been sent round, the Lord Mayor proposed the usual loyal toasts, which were received with great applause. "The Church" was acknowledged by the Bishop of Manchester. "The Navy and the Army" by the Duke of Northumberland and General Sir Archibald MacLaine. The Lord Mayor then proposed the health of "The Earl of Derby and Her Majesty's Ministers," which was received with loud cheering. Lord Derby, in the first half of his speech told the audience what he was not going to speak about, and in the remainder apologised for having nothing to say. "It would be inexcusable," he said, "to introduce any topic of politics at this season of good-will, and in this company." He touched lightly on the difficulties of his situation "with little leisure to mature measures to be submitted to Parliament." He believed that both friends and opponents alike gave them credit for not shrinking from the responsibility of office, when their refusal would have caused a "protracted Ministerial interregnum at the commencement of a session of Parliament."

"I do not presume to speak of any political course of action; but this I say, that I hope I see indications, and indications not to be mistaken, in this metropolis, that we are not looked upon as a set of reckless or careless men, likely to endanger the credit of the country and its great commercial and mercantile interests, or to neglect the great religious, moral, and social obligations which must rest upon us. (Cheers.) A change of Government so total as has taken place in some countries have been considered only next to a revolution; here we happily see that such changes can take place, not only without disturbance to the ordinary course of public affairs—without ruffling in the slightest degree the serene aspect of society, and without disturbing (I say it with still greater happiness) for a single moment the personal friendship of political opponents." (Cheers.)

The nation was attached to the constitution and the ancient institutions of the country, and every one was well aware and fully satisfied that no Minister could direct his course beyond the limits of the constitution.

"Well it is known that no Minister can direct the affairs of this country permanently or for any lengthened period unless he enjoy the confidence and support of his fellow countrymen. (Hear, hear.) Whether we do enjoy that confidence as a Government no distant time will clearly and undeniably prove. (Hear, hear.) If we do not possess that confidence, I, for one, can say, with perfect sincerity, that I shall resign office, and with it the labours and anxieties of public life, with far more of readiness and far more of comfort to myself than I have undertaken the arduous and painful responsibilities which a sense of duty imposed upon me." (Hear, hear.)

But if the Ministry should be honoured by the support of "the intelligence of the country," no sacrifice of "time, health, or life itself" would be deemed too much to prove themselves worthy of the favour of the Sovereign, and of the support of the people of this great empire. The Earl sat down amid great applause from all parts of the Hall. The health of "The Foreign Ministers present" was briefly acknowledged by the American Minister, and the customary reciprocation of complimentary toasts and speeches having been duly performed, the Lord Mayor and his guests retired to the drawing-rooms at about half-past ten o'clock, and the party began to break up.

IRELAND.

A DEPUTATION, headed by the Duke of Leinster, the Earl of Roden, Viscount Monk, &c., waited upon the Lord Lieutenant on Monday to present an address on the part of the Royal Agricultural Improvement Society of Ireland, congratulating his Excellency upon his arrival in this country, and requesting permission to enrol his name as vice-patron. The address spoke of the great depression of the agricultural interest, and the severe sufferings to which the owners and occupiers of land have been subjected for the last few years, as causes which had naturally retarded the progress of the society. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, it was stated that there had been a manifest improvement in the cultivation of the soil. Lord Eglinton was very guarded in his reply, merely observing,—

"That agriculture has always been the foundation of the prosperity of every nation, there can, I think, be but one opinion, and a society which has for its object the development of the resources of this country, by improving the breed of cattle and the system of husbandry, and circulating scientific knowledge among the farming classes, ought to receive the cordial support of all who wish well to Ireland. I sincerely hope that the industry of your people, encouraged by the example and fortified by the instructions of societies such as this, may, ere long, overcome the severe depression under which the agricultural interests have of late years been labouring, and triumph over the difficulties which have so long crippled their energies."

It would appear that the deputation were anxious to have elicited from the Viceroy an opinion upon the

question of free-trade and protection. They must have been rather disappointed.

The following reply was sent by the Prime Minister to a memorial presented to him and the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the subject of the vend "Consolidated Annuities," signed by 70 Irish members, and forwarded by Sir Lucius O'Brien. The official answer runs as follows:—

Downing-street, April 6th, 1861.

"MY DEAR SIR LUCIUS,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the memorial transmitted to me in your letter of the 2nd inst., and which I have forwarded to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The number and respectability of the signatures attached would of themselves command the respectful attention of the Government, even were the importance of the subject itself less than I readily acknowledge it to be. The measure giving legal effect to the amount of relief afforded by the Treasury minute of the late Government, but I can give no better proof of the spirit in which my colleagues and myself are anxious to approach the subject than the consent which I readily gave to Lord Montagu's motion for a select committee of the House of Lords, which is now diligently engaged in investigating all the circumstances connected with these advances, the repayment of which has been provided for by the Consolidated Annuities.

"I have the honour to be, dear Sir Lucius,

"Yours very truly,

"SIR L. O'BRIEN, Bart., M.P.

The Earl of Derby is putting himself in a fair way to find unqualified favour in the eyes of that large and influential section of the Irish gentry who have united for the purpose of obtaining the easiest possible terms for the settlement of the long standing account between themselves and the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury.

PRESERVATION OF THE CRYSTAL PALACE.

ANOTHER reception of the public in the Crystal Palace was accomplished on Saturday; again for a few brief hours some thousands of persons were scattered through its vast and desolate aisles. Whether influenced by the sanguine hope of preserving the fabric, or by the regretful expectation of its speedy removal, the same unflagging spirit of admiration seemed universally to prevail. The chances of an unfavourable issue to the natural desire to retain so brilliant a memorial of these triumphal scenes which have so lately been the absorbing topic, invest these later visits with melancholy anticipations of a possible farewell. So thoroughly is the display of 1851 associated in every mind with the building itself, that the acres of vacant Brompton suggest, even to the most unimaginative, the recollection of what has been, and is now past. It certainly presents now a very different scene. The transept is clear, excepting a solitary fountain, a refreshment counter, and a few seats and tables at the northern end. From one of the pillars on the right, where the transept is intersected by the nave, was hung one of the views of the building, as proposed to be altered for a winter-garden, according to the plan of Sir Joseph Paxton. Lord John Manners having positively forbidden a second introduction of military bands, the music was confined to a performance upon the organ by Mr. W. T. Best, who played selections from Mozart, Haydn, Handel, Mendelssohn, and Sebastian Bach, concluding with the Hallelujah Chorus, at five o'clock. During the afternoon the company promenade in the nave, ascended into the galleries, described the different sections to their friends from memory, looked curiously at the maze of pipes exposed to view in the machinery department, and, in fact, followed the bent of their different humours; and as the declining rays of an unclouded sun shone unimpeded through the transept roof, gradually and silently withdrew. It was rather warm, the canvas awning no longer moderating the effect of the glass roof; but it by no means follows that such a retreat would not be most agreeable during the prevalence of the bitter east winds with which the metropolis is so often favoured, while the canvas can easily be restored if the preservation of the building be decided upon.

With respect to the means now being taken to arrest the sentence of demolition, the petitions to both Houses of Parliament, lying in the building, received an immense number of signatures. At three o'clock a general meeting of the committee took place in the large room near the south entrance, and resolutions were unanimously adopted to organize district committees and get up public meetings in various parts of London, so that the metropolitan public generally may have an opportunity of expressing their views and opinions upon the subject. Meetings with this object will take place in the course of next week, and on Monday the 19th there will be a general public meeting of the people of London.

For the country the annexed form of petition has been suggested, and a great many already circulated in various cities, towns, and boroughs:—

TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

"The humble petition of the undersigned inhabitants of the borough of —"

"Sheweth—that your petitioners have heard with great regret of the intention to take down the Crystal Palace in Hyde-park; that they regard that structure as the object of the world's admiration, and they believe it to be capable of being adapted to many purposes of public utility and amusement."

"Your petitioners therefore humbly pray your honourable House to take such measures as will ensure the preservation of the said palace, and its dedication to the use of the public."

"And your petitioners will ever pray."

Mr. Francis Fuller has addressed a letter to the daily papers, stating that advances have been made to Messrs. Fox and Henderson by clients of Messrs. Johnston, Jayaphar, and Leech, of Moorgate-street, for the purchase of the building for 70,000*l.*, in the event of the government declining to become the owners on the terms specified.

An important correspondence between Lord John Manners, the Chief Commissioner of Works, and Messrs. Fox and Henderson, was on Wednesday laid before the General Committee for the Preservation of the Building, and has the effect of not only putting a stop to the promenade announced for Saturday, but also of finally closing the Crystal Palace to the public, unless the most active and unremitting exertions are made to save it from the threatened demolition, and to convert it into one of the "permanent institutions" of the metropolis. The cream of the Chief Commissioner's first letter to Messrs. Fox and Henderson is contained in the following passages:—

"The Chief Commissioner regrets to find that, notwithstanding the intimations conveyed to you, the building has been used by you for the purpose of public promenade and concerts; that you have taken money for advertisements thereto; that by means of advertisements in the public papers, and otherwise, you have induced a concourse of persons to assemble in the building, in the park, and in the neighbouring thoroughfares; and that such assemblages have been injurious to the park, detrimental to the property in its immediate neighbourhood, and otherwise prejudicial to the peace and quiet of the vicinity."

"Under these circumstances, his lordship feels it incumbent upon him, under the advice of the law officers of the Crown, to take measures for preventing the further misappropriation of the building; but, before doing so, he thinks it right to make you acquainted with his intentions, in the hope that, upon the receipt of this communication, you will see the propriety of forthwith abstaining from your present course of proceeding. In the event, however, of your persisting in the application of the building to its present objectionable uses, or to any purpose other than those specifically mentioned in the Royal warrant, the assistance of a court of competent jurisdiction will be sought to restrain you and all other persons from a perseverance in that course, and from proceeding otherwise than *bona fide* for the purpose of taking down and removing the building with the materials and contents, in accordance with the terms therein set forth."

In Messrs. Fox and Henderson's reply they say:—

"In immediate deference to his lordship's desire, we have sent to the morning newspapers an advertisement, of which the annexed is a copy. With a view to prevent disturbance, we propose to allow the entrance of persons who, in ignorance of this notice, present themselves for admission to-morrow, but to close the doors finally on and after Thursday, the 15th instant."

The copy of the advertisement runs as follows:—

"CLOSING OF THE CRYSTAL PALACE.—Notice is hereby given that, in consequence of a communication from the office of her Majesty's Works and Public Buildings, the Exhibition building can no longer be thrown open to the public by the contractors."

FOX, HENDERSON, AND CO.
"London, April 13."

Lord John Manners seems determined to achieve an unpopularity surpassing that of Lord Seymour, the mighty victor of Ann Hicks. The report of the sub-committee for the preservation of the building, shows that the gentlemen who have undertaken to conduct the agitation do not intend to let the noble lord have it all his own way.

THE WAR WITH BURMAH.

The Burmese war has not yet advanced beyond the stage of preparation, but the preparations made are of an efficient and formidable character. By the latest news, dated Bombay, March the 15th, we learn that the steamers despatched from that port reached Madras on the 7th of that month, and that three companies of artillery, the 51st Foot, and two native regiments, were ready for immediate embarkation. The force from Calcutta would not be ready for starting so early as that from Madras, and as the two forces must act in co-operation it would be scarcely possible to open the campaign before the first week in April, when little more than a month would remain before the commencement of the rains. The whole naval force when assembled in Burmese waters will form the largest, the most efficient, and the most terrific fleet of steamers which has ever been collected together in the east. It

will consist of the Feroze, the Moozuffer, the Sesostris, the Zenobia, the Semiramis, the Medusa, the Hugh Lindsay, the Tenneserim, the Fire Queen, the Enterprise, the Proserpine, and the Phlegethon, 12 steamers belonging to the Honourable Company, and one, the Hermes, of her Majesty's navy. Of these vessels, two are of 500-horse power and 1,500 tons, and one of 300-horse power and 1,200 tons, all armed with large swivel guns of 8-inch calibre. The last accounts from Moullmain mention an attempt on the part of the Burmese to drive off her Majesty's brig *Serpent*, which was blockading Bassien. Every preparation had been made by the Burmese to defend all assailable points on the coast, and 20,000 men were assembled at Rangoon to repel our troops. Our forces were to rendezvous at the mouth of the Cass, on the eastern branch of the Irawaddy, and would probably proceed up the latter branch to Promé, to avoid the resistance prepared on the route by Rangoon.

MORE GOLD IN AUSTRALIA.

ACCOUNTS from South Australia, *via* Batavia and Singapore, are brought down to January the 6th. The prospects of the settlement are rapidly undergoing a marvellous change, whether for the better or worse time alone can show. From the first establishment of the colony it has experienced a rapid prosperity unexampled—its mining treasures raised it above the sister settlements, and its far-famed Burra Burra, copper mines, at length became a term in every one's mouth to denote great mineral wealth. A crowded, busy, and industrious population, a perfect freedom from the taint of convictism, served to accelerate the progress of South Australia, until its chief city, Adelaide, teemed with the happiest of the colonial population. A rapid change has passed over it: the once crowded city is now deserted. Its busy population have quitted the shore, not because it has failed in any one of its allurements, but because the alluring prospects of the gold fields of Victoria have worked the inhabitants into a state of mania, which has prevailed so generally that Adelaide's condition is not inaptly illustrated by the example of Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*. By sea and land it is no exaggeration to say the colonists were leaving not by scores or hundreds, but literally by thousands, for the Victoria gold diggings. The Government was alarmed—the consternation was general. In order, if possible, to stem the tide of emigration, the governor had offered a reward of 1000*l.* for the discovery of a workable gold mine within the colony. The Adelaide papers contain numerous accounts of gold discoveries, but much uncertainty prevailed on the subject, and a general opinion was current that unless a workable gold field was found before March—when there would be an abundance of water at the Victoria fields for gold washing—the colony would be almost depopulated.

The following are items of news from the Victoria gold diggings:—

Of the richness of the diggings at Mount Alexander there is not a question; but the total want of that great staff of life, water, had compelled thousands to abandon their search for gold; whilst the inroads of disease threatened to thin the ranks of those who remained.

The *Sydney Morning Herald* of Jan. 10, under the heading of "Four Tons of Gold," has the following:—

The *Kate*, which yesterday sailed for England, conveyed from our shores upwards of two tons of gold; and the *Melbourne*, which sailed from Port Phillip last week, had on board nearly two tons and a quarter. It is probable that both these vessels will reach England about the end of April, and the report that four tons and a quarter of gold has arrived from Australia, will add to the excitement which the previously received news will have caused.

The price of gold in Sydney ranged from 54*s.* to 56*s.* per ounce.

LORD CAMPBELL AND THE BOOKSELLING ASSOCIATION.

STRATHEDEN HOUSE, Kensington, the residence of Lord Campbell, was on Wednesday the scene of a conference on the present position of the bookselling trade. Lord Campbell, accompanied by Mr. George Grote and Dr. Milman, the Dean of St. Paul's, met a deputation from the Bookselling Association, and observed, after receiving the members of the deputation with great courtesy, that he should be very glad if, associated with Dr. Milman, Mr. Grote, and others who might assist them, he could be instrumental in settling the important question which had arisen in the bookselling trade. Lord Granville, Sir W. Page Wood, and Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, who were invited, were unfortunately unable to attend. Lord Campbell had requested that Messrs. Bickers and Bush, Mr. Chapman, and other gentlemen who took an opposite view to the Booksellers' Association, should have due notice given them of the meeting. He had received, in reply to that invitation, a letter from Mr.

Chapman, complaining that longer notice of the meeting had not been given him. He had also received a letter from Messrs. Bickers and Bush in reply to the invitation addressed to them, stating that they felt that upon this question compromise was impossible; that the inevitable tendency of the age was to open an unlimited free trade; and that they felt assured no other arrangement would or could be final. Lord Campbell could only state for himself, that he desired that the most ample opportunity should be given for any one who took an interest in the matter, to produce any statement or evidence; and that he wished it distinctly to be understood that he had not as yet formed any opinion on the disputed question. Dr. Milman and Mr. Grote expressed their concurrence in the observations of the noble lord.

Mr. Longman then proceeded at considerable length to explain the objects of the Booksellers' Association, and the questions in dispute between that association and a portion of the book-selling trade, termed "undersellers." Mr. Murray believed that it would be impossible to carry on business if the system of underselling were permitted:

"The same underselling had prevailed in other businesses, and had been found to be ruinous. To show that the plan adopted by the Booksellers' Association was carried out by other trades, he might mention that he had in his possession a circular from a firm in the neighbourhood of Manchester, who were manufacturers of muslins, stating that they dealt with no customer who did not sign a paper engaging, under the penalty of a fine, not to sell under certain prices. It had been urged against the booksellers that their system was an infringement of free-trade principles; but he had the positive assurance that when Mr. Cobden was in business for himself he never allowed his muslins to be undersold. He had been informed also that Mr. Bright, who was manufacturing a new description of carpets, would deal only with those persons who would engage not to sell them at a depreciated price. (A laugh.) He might observe, also, that barristers and physicians had fixed the amount of their fees, and would not receive less than a certain sum. The result of an alteration in the present system would be that he must reduce very much the number of books he published; for he certainly would not trust undersellers, because he did not believe their profits were such as to keep their heads above water."

Several London and provincial booksellers having taken part in the conference, and all expressed their opinions in favour of the objects of the Booksellers' Association, Lord Campbell addressed the deputation:

"He said the case had been very ably argued on the part of the association; but, although a great deal of valuable information had been afforded on the subject, he and his friends, Dr. Milman and Mr. Grote, were not at present in a situation to express an opinion upon the question. In his opinion they ought to act upon the maxim '*Audi alteram partem*.' Even if he were convinced by the arguments he had heard in favour of the association, he would like to hear the other side, who might convert him. (A laugh.) Lord Eldon never would decide any cause, however clear it might be, without hearing the side against which he was inclined. He must say that his mind was quite unbiassed on this question, until he had a further opportunity of information and discussion. If Mr. Bickers, Mr. Bentley, Mr. Chapman, or any other gentleman wished to be heard, he would be most happy to meet them, without expecting them to say that they would change their mode of dealing in conformity with any opinion expressed by himself or his friends."

After some conversation it was arranged, that if any of the "undersellers" desired to argue the case against the association, Lord Campbell, the Dean of St. Paul's, Mr. Grote, and probably other literary gentlemen, would be prepared to hear their statements, between the 16th and 21st of May.

DEPARTURE OF ROSAS FOR ENGLAND.

By the royal-mail steamer *Tay*, which arrived at Southampton on Thursday, having left Buenos Ayres on the 3rd of March, and Bahia on the 21st, we learn that General Rosas, with his daughter Manuelita, left Bahia in H.M.S. *Conflict*, on the 5th of March. It is said that he is coming to England empty-handed—pennyless, in fact—but this is not very probable. The allied Brazilian and Oriental army entered Buenos Ayres on the 19th of February, and were received with great demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants. A provisional government was formed immediately after the departure of Rosas, with Don Vicente Lopes as president. Amnesty and oblivion of the past has been accorded to all, a few traitors only excepted. Decrees have been issued ordering the restitution to their owners of the numerous houses which Rosas had embargoed. The property of Rosas, of every description, is declared to belong to the state. General Mancilla, the brother-in-law of Rosas, was a passenger in the *Tay*, and landed at Lisbon, and, from his own account, is going to the court of Spain to offer Buenos Ayres to a Spanish prince.

This officer was left in charge of the city, until Urquiza should make his entry, to protect it from plunder and preserve the peace. However, outrages were com-

mitted to a great extent; and on a representation being made to Urquiza, he despatched an order to seize Mancilla, and shoot him immediately; but Mancilla managed to escape, and sought protection under the British flag. It is said that the Brazilian diplomatists and generals, at Buenos Ayres, are beginning to suspect that General Urquiza, having got the upper hand, will turn out a second Rosas. The English diplomatic agent, however, had taken a favourable view of his policy, and was of opinion that Urquiza was honestly bent on obtaining a constitutional government for the Argentine Republic.

LOSS OF THE BIRKENHEAD.

A TERRIBLE sensation has been caused at Portsmouth by the news of the melancholy loss of the *Birkenhead*, nearly the whole of the crew having belonged to that port. The dockyard has been the scene of many heart-rending exhibitions of grief, and numerous have been the applications for information by widows and orphans. The Port-Admiral and Admiral-Superintendent have evinced the utmost anxiety and readiness to render all the information in their power, and to alleviate as far as in their ability lies the distress occasioned by this unlooked-for calamity. A special general meeting of the town council was held on Saturday afternoon, at two o'clock, when it was resolved to hold a public meeting, and to take other measures to raise funds in aid of the widows and other sufferers by the wreck. The Mayor presided, and headed the subscription list with a donation of 25*l.*; besides which, 90*l.* were subscribed at once by the members present, although not more than half of the corporation attended.

The following extract from the *Portsmouth Times* deserves serious consideration:—

"Most of our brother journalists have, with more or less precipitancy, placed blame on the master commanding (Mr. Salmond), and attach the cause of the catastrophe to his supposed hugging of the shore to save time and distance in the discharge of his important duty. We do not believe such to have been his culpability. We know the *Birkenhead* to have ever been a most dangerous vessel to steer, in consequence of which vital fault she has been very nearly lost on more than one occasion previously. We know from the best of evidence—personal acquaintance—that her compasses would not act under the commonest circumstances, and were always, or nearly always, in error; we know the *Birkenhead* has been swung round the entire circle at Spithead three times, and her compasses have never showed the shadow even of a movement! We know further, that on another occasion, whilst at sea, so utterly impossible was it for the master to navigate the ship owing to the attraction of the iron upon the compasses, that the master was compelled for safety to take them up into the mizen-top to endeavour to steer the ship by them! The *Birkenhead* was an iron steam-vessel, of 1400 tons, built by Laird, of Birkenhead, for a steam-frigate, but so far from being enabled to carry a battery of guns, she could not carry her coals! was consequently converted into a troop-ship, in which character she never enjoyed a good reputation, as many officers who have sailed and held appointments in her can testify. She left this port last on the 2nd of January, on which day she was victualled as her own troop service complement 120 persons, her appointed complement being 131. As a navigator Mr. Salmond ranked among the most skilful of the masters of the Royal Navy. His latter services were in the *Retribution* steam-frigate, and the *Vengeance*, 84, under Captains Lushington and the Earl of Hardwicke; then the *Figard*, 42, at Woolwich, from which ship he was appointed to the command of the *Birkenhead* on the 8th of February, 1851."

With such facts as these (if facts they are, and the writer speaks like one having authority and acquainted with the subject both practically and personally) we are inclined to put a very mitigated construction upon the reports of others as to the want of discretion shown by Mr. Salmond in the matter of the course steered by the steamer when she struck.

MATRICIDE IN LAMBETH.

ELIZABETH WHEELER, a widow, lived with her son, twenty-eight years of age, at No. 1, Durham-place, Kennington-road, immediately facing Bethlehem Hospital for lunatics. In the same house resided also a Mr. Toms, a carpet-bag manufacturer, and his family. On Saturday afternoon, about one o'clock, Mrs. Toms heard a loud scream in one of the upper rooms, which was succeeded by a heavy fall on the floor. She immediately ran to ascertain the cause, when Thomas Wheeler, the widow's son, rushed passed her out of the house, carrying in his hand a stick and a knife. Mrs. Toms went up stairs, and was horrorstruck at finding the woman's body lying on the floor in a pool of blood, and the head lying on the table. Mrs. Toms gave the alarm, and in a few minutes Wheeler was secured by a policeman in Kennington-road. He made no resistance, and at once admitted that he had murdered his mother, and also informed the officer that he had not long been liberated from a lunatic asylum. In the afternoon he was examined before Mr. Norton, at the Lambeth Police Court. When placed at the bar he looked wildly around him. He is described as a well-made man, with large black eyes, regular features, and an intelligent countenance.

Mr. Norton inquired—"How old are you?"

Prisoner (carelessly).—"Twenty-eight."

Mr. Norton.—"What is your name?"

Prisoner.—"Thomas Cathie Wheeler."

Eliza Phillips, in answer to questions from the magistrate, said that she had known Wheeler since he was a baby; had resided in the same house with him and his mother since last August. His mother often said there was something wrong with him. He often used to walk about the house with a flat-iron or a hatchet in his hand.

The Prisoner.—"My mother did not fear though, gentlemen."

The Magistrate.—"It is my duty to inform you that every word you say will be taken down, and may be used in evidence against you."

The Prisoner.—"I don't fear anything."

The Witness.—"I have seen him with the iron and the hatchet in his hand, muttering to himself at frequent intervals."

The Prisoner.—"I have a habit of speaking to myself, as I have no one else to speak to, and my mother was always backguarding me."

Eliza Phillips then stated, that at 12 o'clock that same morning she heard a "scuffling noise" upstairs, that she called out for Mrs. Wheeler, and heard no answer. She tapped and knocked repeatedly at the door of the room, which at last was partially opened by Thomas Wheeler, who held something in his right hand. He looked at her for a moment, and then hastily shut the door in her face. She immediately ran down stairs and told Mrs. Toms that she was afraid something was the matter. In a minute or two Wheeler came down stairs. The women then went upstairs and discovered the murdered woman's body. This witness also said that she had noticed Wheeler talking louder to himself than usual that morning, and his mother had been alarmed at his conduct.

Mr. Norton (to the prisoner).—"Do you wish to ask the witness any question?"

The Prisoner.—"The fact is that she has threatened to send me to the workhouse for a great length of time; and she said she would have me dragged away, and I suppose they cannot drag people away in the most gentle manner."

Mr. Norton.—"Do you wish to ask the witness any question?"

The Prisoner.—"All she has said is true."

Elizabeth Toms, the wife of Charles Toms, carpet-bag maker and landlord of the house, No. 1, Durham-place, said that she had known Wheeler and his mother for nine or ten months. He did nothing for his living, for he was not able to do anything. His mother supported him, with some assistance from friends. His manner was irregular, and lately he had been getting worse. When he had his fits on him he looked very pale and ill.

The Prisoner.—"All without liberty—she was bagged—I was worried."

Mrs. Toms then related all that she had seen on the morning of the murder. The next witness was Mr. T. Hutchinson, the surgeon, who had been called in by Mr. Toms, about one o'clock. He said—"On entering the front room I found the body lying on the floor, with the head on the table, separated from the body. There was a knife lying partly underneath the head, and a hatchet near it. The handle of the hatchet was covered with blood; the edge of it appeared to have been wiped, but there was blood on other parts of it." (The hatchet, a small one, was here produced.)

The Prisoner.—"She deserved it, and I put her head on the table; however, it is of no consequence."

The Witness.—"The knife is covered with blood. The body was a foot or a foot and a half from the edge of the table. The body was lying in a different direction from the head. The feet were nearest to the door. I put my hand on the body and felt it warm. The woman who went up with me screamed and left me alone, and I then went to the window and called out to the people in the street to fetch a policeman. I don't think she could have been dead more than ten minutes when I got there. I think the woman was first struck with the hatchet, then cut with the knife, and the vertebra afterwards severed with the hatchet. On the right side of the head there was a wound from an inch to an inch and a half long, but I do not think that was the cause of death. The scalp and the bone were cut through, as it appears to me, with the hatchet. I think a scuffle must have taken place, as a bundle of clothes which was in the room was in a confused state. I saw a flat iron lying close to the clothes. Near the woman's body there was a pillow, on the surface of which was blood, and impressions as of a man's knees. Underneath the pillow there was a side-comb, and one similar to it entangled in the woman's hair and broken. There was also a large comb at the side of the pillow. There was diluted blood in the basin in the prisoner's bedroom, and blood on the wash-hand stand, and also on the towel."

The Magistrate.—"Have you anything to ask this gentleman?"

The Prisoner.—"I have nothing to ask. I should like the window to be left open while the corpse is in the room. I didn't think of that before. It is the last request, perhaps, I shall make."

Lockyer, the policeman who apprehended Wheeler, related the following conversation which had passed between him and the prisoner on their way to the station-house. Wheeler said, "They have not let me go far; I have been tormented for four or five years by them." I said, "Do you mean to say that you have killed your mother?" and he said, "I have; I am sorry for it." I said, "How came you to do it?" "Well," he said, "I have been tormented for four or five years." I asked him how he did it, and he said, "She was coming in at the door, and I knocked her down with the flat iron, and I found that was not sufficient, and I then took the carving-knife. She was very tough, and I then struck her head off with the hatchet." At the station-house I found a knife in his coat pocket, and I asked him what he was going to do with it, and he said, "That was for myself." I understood that he was going to cut his own throat. I afterwards went to the house

No. 1, in Durham-place. I saw the deceased lying on the floor dead, with her head on the table. He said at the station, "You will find a letter on the table, and take particular care of it."

The Prisoner.—"I spoke more respectfully than the man has stated. I did not make a bravado of it. I spoke sorrowfully, did I not?"

The Policeman.—"Yes, you did."

The Magistrate.—"I have already more than once mentioned you as to what you say."

The Prisoner.—"I am quite prepared to go to the scaffold, but I did not bravado about it."

Mr. Toms, the carpet bag maker, deposed to all that he had seen in the morning. He concluded by saying, "His mother was always very kind to the prisoner. The prisoner times he is not. I think he must have listened when his mother was talking about removing him, and I think that was the cause of it all. He frequently talked to himself."

The Prisoner.—"I have been in the habit of talking to myself."

The Witness.—"His mother was a beautiful woman, and stood 5 feet 10 inches or 5 feet 11 inches high. She was always very kind to him. When he has been very bad she has threatened to put him away. He has been in Bellingham 11 months, and seven months in an asylum at Wandsworth. He has been in Brazil, and had a sun-stroke as he was crossing the Line. He had a salary of 300*l.* a year, and he can speak three or four different languages."

Wheeler was then remanded. A document found in his desk throws light upon the state of his mind. He attributes his insanity to his having been poisoned in Bahia, South America, and declares that there is a regular plot for murdering young men out there to be clerks, and then poisoning them. He also gives a long rambling account of his differences with his father and mother, and alludes repeatedly to poison and madness.

On Tuesday a coroner's inquest held at the Stag Tavern, Kennington Road, brought in a verdict of "Wilful Murder," against Thomas Cathie Wheeler.

Thomas Cathie Wheeler was brought before Mr. Norton on Wednesday afternoon for final examination. On entering the court Wheeler gazed anxiously around, and not discovering any friends or acquaintances assumed a thoughtful appearance. During the reading of the depositions by the Chief Clerk he wet bitterly, and particularly at that part where the witnesses described the appearance of the head on the table, the hatchet and knife covered with blood. He is described as being much altered since his first examination, and to be evidently suffering from severe mental affliction. The only additional witness examined was Mr. John Cathie, proprietor of the Lee Arms public house, Dalston, brother to the murdered woman, and uncle to Thomas Cathie Wheeler. Mr. Cathie deposed to having long been aware of his nephew's insanity, and to having himself taken him to the lunatic asylum on two occasions. He was discharged at the earnest solicitation of his mother, and they always appeared to be on the most affectionate terms. On Tuesday week Thomas Wheeler had called at his uncle's house and behaved in a very extraordinary manner. His uncle gave him a coat, and seeing that Wheeler had a black bag under his arm advised him to put the coat in it. He positively refused, and soon after became furiously excited.

Mr. Norton.—"Were you aware that the prisoner had been in the habit of carrying a knife and a pistol about him in this black bag?"

Mr. Cathie.—"No, Sir, I was not; and if this was the case it would account for his objection to put the coat into it."

Prisoner.—"Oh, no; I carried the bag for a weight, and felt a pleasure in swinging it about by my side like a pendulum."

This having concluded the evidence, the prisoner was asked if he wished to put any questions to his uncle to say anything to the charge, and he replied, "Nothing." The witnesses were then bound over in the usual recognizances to appear and give evidence against the prisoner at the ensuing session at the Central Criminal Court on a charge of wilful murder, and the unfortunate man was fully committed and then removed from the court.

In the course of the proceedings Mr. Norton read the following communication, which he had received relative to the accused from Captain Robertson, chief constable of the Hertfordshire constabulary:—

Hertford, April 13th, 1852.

"Sir,—I think it right to inform you that in August last Thomas Wheeler, now in custody for causing the death of his mother, was brought to me by Inspector Dunn, of the Hertfordshire county constabulary, he having threatened to shoot a person in the high road, two miles from this town. I at once perceived Wheeler was insane, and after taking away the pistol with which he was armed, I sent him to his mother in Lambeth, and the next day the accompanying letter was received by Inspector Dunn, partly written, as you will perceive, by the man himself, and partly by his unfortunate mother. Wheeler protested that the man he had threatened was about to rob him."

"I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

"A. ROBERTSON, Chief Constable of Hertford."

"Hon. G. C. Norton, &c."

The following was the letter referred to:—

"Mr. Superintendent Dunn.—I am happy to inform you I have arrived safe home. My mother sends her respects and thanks, as I do. Also to Mr. Dunn, jun., and ladies. Your obedient servant,

THOMAS C. WHEELER.

In the same letter the following appears in the handwriting of the deceased:—

"Sir,—I feel truly grateful for your kind attention to my son, for whom I was very anxious."

ELIZABETH WHEELER.

"Durham-place, Lambeth-road, August 14."

MURDERS AND SUICIDES.

An inquest was held on Monday on the bodies of the man and the two boys found drowned near the residence of the late Vice-Chancellor at Putney. He turns out to be a law-maker, named Spankhurst, late of Barking, and his boys were his sons. His wife was examined. She said her husband had once tried to cut her throat, and had frequently ill-used her. He left her on the 7th, and she heard nothing of him until she received the following letter:—

"April 7.
"By the time that you receive these few lines, or hours later, me and my boys will be locked in the arms of death; and I am very unhappy to think that my girl is not with us; and you have no one to thank but your own temper towards me, and I made up my mind what I should do as I lay on my pillow this morning before I started. I have but little comment to make, but your temper has been that to me that it has preyed on my mind for some time. But it is finished before this time. I hope that my girl will grow and be a good girl, and I should have been happy if I had her here with us. I hope you will govern your temper for the future, and you have no one to thank but yourself for this, and I hope that you will do well. God bless you both for ever.
N. S."

An apprentice strengthened the testimony of Mrs. Spankhurst that her husband drank a great deal. The jurymen summed up the evidence, and the jury returned a verdict, to the effect that the deceased children, Nathaniel John, and William, had been wilfully murdered by their father, Nathaniel Joseph Spankhurst, and that he later afterwards committed suicide by drowning himself, being at that time of unsound mind.

John Daw was a miller's man, living near Lynn, Norfolk. He had a wife and one child, and his cottage was situated on the banks of Rising River. For about a week John Daw was in "low spirits," and at the end of that time, on Sunday week, he was found lying in the river with his shirt, and his throat cut quite across. A neighbour went to break the news to Mrs. Daw. The cottage door was open, the sitting-room door was open, and to his horror he saw Mrs. Daw and her son lying on the floor in their night clothes, with their throats cut. It was testified by his master that John Daw was a good servant and to all appearance an affectionate husband. The jury found "That the deceased John Daw did kill and slay his wife, and his son, and that he was at the time insane; and that the said John Daw did also drown himself while in a state of insanity."

Three boys were "crow scaring" at Outwell, about 10 miles from Lynn, Norfolk, on Sunday, the eldest carrying a gun with which to frighten the birds. A trifling quarrel arose when the eldest boy, aged 13, deliberately raised the gun to his shoulder, and blew out the brains of one of his companions, aged 9. Frightened at the act which he had committed, the murderer prevailed upon his remaining companion to assist him to dispose of the body, by dragging it to a dry ditch, where it was carefully buried. The two boys then returned to the spot where their companion had been shot, and gathered up his brains and the shattered fragments of his skull, they threw them into his cap. After this they kindled a fire of turf (the field being in the fens), upon which they placed the cap, which they watched until, with its contents, it was entirely consumed. Upon their return home, inquiry arose concerning the murdered child, when the companion of the murderer confessed to the particulars above narrated, and was with the murderer himself taken into custody.

A Coroner's inquest on the body of the boy, William Day, who was shot, terminated on Wednesday night, having sat two days. The name of the boy who fired the gun is William Pearce. John Day, brother of the deceased, proved the body and digging it out of the ditch where it was buried. James Pearce, brother of the accused, corroborated this evidence, but neither of them had seen any thing of the murder. Wm. Pearce, ten years old, and brother to the accused, gave more important testimony. He stated that he went to bed with his brother (James Pearce) on Saturday night, when his brother told him that he had shot Billy Day. They were sitting in the field by the fire, which boys are accustomed to keep up while crow-scaring, when they quarrelled, and Day struck him a violent blow over the eye (his eye was blackened and bruised when taken into custody); and that he then took up the gun and blew Day's brains out. Day did not die directly, but lay upon the ground bleeding fast. My brother, continued the witness, said, "I did not know what to do with him. I lifted him up, and held him sitting on the ground, and I spoke to him, but he could not speak to me. After a few minutes I saw he was dead, and I dug a hole in the drain and buried him: and after covering him up I jumped on him and jammed him down. I did not like to see the blood on the rods where he fell, and so I put them altogether, with his cap, and tried to burn them." William Goulett, a little boy eight years old, saw Pearce and Day playing together, and heard the gun go off; thought it was to frighten the crows. Soon after saw Pearce wandering about by himself. He did not suspect anything. A constable of the Norfolk police related a conversation he had with William Pearce at the station-house. Pearce said,—"Have you seen poor Billy Day?" Witness replied in the affirmative, when the prisoner replied,—"Poor little fellow. I have told a good many lies about him, but I will now tell you the truth. I did not shoot him, but I helped to bury him by the drain side." Afterwards he admitted that he did shoot Day, who had first got up, as they were sitting by the fire, and hit him in the eye. The jury brought in a verdict of Manslaughter.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Professor John Wilson has announced in a letter to the Lord Provost and Town Council of Edinburgh his resignation of the chair of Moral Philosophy in the University. We regret to say that the cause is continued illness.

The Duke of Northumberland, accompanied by Commodore Herbert, the Fourth Lord of the Admiralty, Captain Chads, C.B., of the *Excellent*, and Captain the Hon. F. Pelham, Private Secretary to the First Lord, visited the ships of war at Spithead, the Dock-yard, and Sailor's Home, at Portsmouth, on Wednesday. The Duke subscribed 200*l.* to the Home.

Sir James Matheson, M.P., proprietor of the Island of North Rona, has offered it as a gift to government for a new penal settlement. This island is situated in the Atlantic, in latitude 59 deg. 7 min. 15-48 sec. and longitude 5 deg. 48 min. 50-45 sec. west. It forms part of the Lewis property. It lies 38 miles N.E. of the Butt of Lewis, forming a nearly equilateral triangle with it and Cape Wrath. Its highest point is 380 feet above the level of the sea. Its greatest length is nearly a mile, and its greatest breadth the same. The island contains 270 acres, three fourths of which are arable. The cost of maintaining a convict in Australia is 40*l.* a year. The cost of maintaining a convict in Rona would not exceed 15*l.* a year, and this on 1,000 convicts for four years would save 100,000*l.* The climate and soil being favourable, the arable parts of Rona might be cultivated by the convicts as a garden farm.

The Right Hon. Sidney Herbert, M.P., obtains a seat in the House of Lords by the death of his brother, the Earl of Pembroke, in Paris.

Lord Panmure died at Brechin Castle on Tuesday, at the age of 83. Mr. Fox Maule, his son, succeeds to his title and great estates.

Lord Dunsany expired at Dunsany Castle on the night of the 7th instant. He is succeeded in his titles and estates by his only brother, the Hon. Captain Plunkett, R.N. Lord Dunsany was born the 5th of September, 1804, and was consequently only in the 48th year of his age. By his death a vacancy is created in the representative peerage of Ireland.

Lord Dynevor, who had been for some time an invalid, expired at his seat, Barrington Park, Oxfordshire, on Friday last, at 1 p.m., in his 87th year. He is succeeded in the title and estates by his son the Hon. George Rice Trevor, Lieutenant-colonel of the Carmarthenshire Militia. The venerable peer has also left six daughters.

Prince Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein is at present staying at Exmouth, where he has taken a house for a short time.

The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Earl of Eglinton, proposes to give a grand tournament at Fermanagh! The presence of the Duke of Wellington is expected!!

Preparations are being made for erecting the pedestal for the equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington in front of the Register House, Edinburgh. The statue, by Mr. Steel, is all but completed, and will be inaugurated with a fitting ceremony on next Waterloo day.

On Sunday last, April 11, was presented to W. Kaye, Esq., of Broughton, Manchester, by his lady, the extraordinary number of three daughters, who, with Mrs. Kaye, are doing well. This is an Easter offering!

Ann Kelly died at Lewisham, Kent, on the 5th instant, aged 103 years. From early youth she was a member of the theatrical profession, and acted at various theatres in England, Ireland, and Scotland. She was in the same company with the late Edmund Kean, and also with James Sheridan Knowles, and she had often played "Alicia" to the "Jane Shore" of Mrs. Siddons. About the age of 60 she lost her hearing, and was obliged to relinquish the stage. Mr. Knowles learning her destitute situation, took her from compassion into his family, and from that time she had been solely dependent on that gentleman's bounty. She retained all her faculties to the last, and was only confined to her bed three days previous to her decease.

The greatest activity has been displayed at Woolwich Dockyard to complete the stores required for the vessels of the Arctic Expedition, under Sir Edward Belcher, that all may be on board to-night or early to-morrow morning, as the whole of the squadron are under orders to be ready to proceed down the river between nine and ten a.m. on Thursday, April 15. On Wednesday, Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort, K.C.B., the hydrographer to the Admiralty, visited Captain Belcher at an early hour, and witnessed several experiments made to explain to the officers the mode of inflating balloons, and the bombardiers of the Marine Artillery, the plan for blowing up ice by means of the galvanic battery.

Mr. Hume has addressed a letter to the daily papers, in which he states the result of the labours of the committee appointed at the public meeting held on the 7th of August, 1850, at the Whittington Club-room, to collect subscriptions from the working classes for a memorial to the late Sir Robert Peel.—Including the subscriptions begun at the Belvidere Hotel, Pentonville, there has been received the sum of 1,737*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.*, chiefly in penny subscriptions; and that amount has been paid into the Bank of England, to be invested in three per cent. consols in the names of three trustees. The committee have already decided that the yearly interest of the fund shall be applied to educational purposes, under the title of "The Working Man's Memorial to the late Sir Robert Peel," and they will spare no endeavours to render its application judicious. The number of individual subscribers is about 250,000, among whom are English workmen at St. Petersburg, who have contributed 5*l.* towards the fund.

A large meeting of the inhabitants of Marylebone was held on Tuesday evening last, at the Princess's Concert Rooms, to consider the propriety of petitioning Parliament against the Militia Bill. Mr. J. A. Nicholas was in the chair; and the meeting was addressed by Mr. Jacob Bell, M.P., Mr. Cobden, M.P., Mr. Buckton, Mr. C. George, and other gentlemen. Resolutions were passed declaring the opinion of the meeting that the enrolment of the militia would be oppressive to all classes of the community, injurious to the morals of the people, and certain to render necessary a large amount of general and local taxation from which the people might otherwise be relieved, and

to have the effect of deranging the habits of business, and injuring the prospects in life of those who would be brought immediately under its operation; and pledging those present to adopt all constitutional means to prevent its passing into a law. A petition embodying the above objections was then agreed to, and having been signed by the Chairman on behalf of the meeting, was ordered to be forwarded to the members for the borough for presentation to Parliament.

The Grand Duke of Baden is dangerously ill and not expected to live many days.

Navarro, the Jeffreys of Naples, unenviably immortalized in Mr. Gladstone's Letters to Lord Aberdeen, is dying from a gangrene in the foot.

The *Gazette de France* says, "We are assured that M. Thiers will soon return to France."

The coronation of the King of Sweden and Norway in the latter country, which was to have taken place in the summer, has been postponed to the summer of 1853. The delay has been occasioned by the works in the Cathedral of Drontheim not being likely to be completed in time.

There is a rumour in Quebec that Lord Elgin has tendered his resignation to her Majesty as Governor-General of Canada, and expects to leave this country at an early date.—*Montreal Courier*, March 25.

The Portuguese steamer, Porto, left Oporto on the morning of the 28th of March, with a crew of twenty-two men and thirty-nine passengers. All went well till the vessel reached Cape Mondego, when a furious gale sprang up, and the worn-out boilers only enabled the ship to make a head-way of a mile an hour. The mate in command tried to run for Vigo or Oporto. The pilot decided that it was possible to cross the bar at the mouth of the Douro. The sea was not high, and they made for this perilous passage. In one minute more the ship would have been in safety, when by some mismanagement she sheared and struck on a sand-bank, and unshipped her rudder. The rebound threw her on the Toiro rock, where she stuck fast for an hour, only forty yards from shore. The beach was crowded with the families and friends of those on board. A boat from the land failed in an attempt to rescue the crew and passengers. In an hour and a half the vessel went to pieces, and all the passengers were drowned, including Mr. Joseph Allen, Mr. James Anderson, and his nephew, Mr. Elmsley, Englishmen. Only eight of the crew reached the shore, and one was saved from the wreck in the morning.

Several young men were arrested, a few days ago, at Pesth, for having worn tricolour ribbons, and cried "Long live Kossuth!" Two toydealers were also arrested for having exposed for sale dolls and toys ornamented with the national colours.

The *Perth Courier* states that the estate of Richard and Glaschorrie, in the parish of Blair Athole, which was sold the other day for 8,000*l.* to Richard Hemming, Esq., Worcestershire, was bought by Captain Beaumont, upwards of twenty years ago, for 5,000*l.* The rise in value since that time is solely owing to the grouse shooting. How many families were turned off this estate, among many others, to make room for the grouse?

On Sunday afternoon, two privates of the 4th Light Dragoons were drowned in the river Thames, off Isleworth Church. Five of the men in the same regiment, about 12 o'clock, hired a boat, and after a short time, one of them began to rock the boat, the effect of which was that it was capsized, and they were all precipitated into the water. Several boats put off promptly to their assistance, and they were conveyed to the "London Apprentice," adjoining the church, where restoratives were immediately applied, by several medical gentlemen. Two of them, however, were found to be past recovery, after lengthened efforts to restore animation.

Daniel Tuffrey, of Juniper-hill, Cottisford, near Bicester, convicted at the last assizes for horse stealing, and sentenced to seven years' transportation, and Charles Rock, convicted of robbery and attempt to murder, for which he was sentenced to transportation for life, attempted to escape from the county gaol at Oxford on the evening of Friday. At about ten at night one of the watchmen heard noises from two cells, which convinced him there was something wrong. Tuffrey and Rock had, by breaking away an iron bar from the grate in their respective rooms, obtained the means of making a hole in the wall for the purpose of getting through it into the yard. Rock had succeeded in getting from three to four feet of the brickwork away, and would in a short time have been from his cell. Tuffrey was less forward with his work; he, however, had made considerable progress. They were secured, and will for the future be ironed at night as well as by day.

An extensive fire, undoubtedly caused by an incendiary, broke out in several parts of the farm premises of Mr. John Cove, Great Lea, in the parish of Shinfield, three miles from Reading, at about eight o'clock on the evening of Easter Sunday, and was not got under until the entire homestead presented a complete wreck. The farm house was only saved by the wind blowing in a contrary direction.

On Wednesday night, about half-past nine o'clock, a fire broke out on the premises of Mr. Weldon, bookseller, of Paternoster-row. By the aid of the engines, which soon arrived, the flames were extinguished in a short time; the damage done was however considerable. Mr. Weldon's stock was insured in the Sun Fire-office.

The inhabitants of Nassau-street, Middlesex Hospital, were most painfully excited on Tuesday morning, about four o'clock, by a scene at the house No. 15, occupied by Mr. Charles Lansfield, a carpenter. A police constable, seeing clouds of smoke pouring from the basement floor, succeeded in arousing the inmates, numbering no fewer than nineteen persons. Those who were in the lower portion of the premises gained the street at great risk, but six who were on the second floor, on reaching the stairs, were driven back by the hot smoke. They then made

their appearance at the front windows, beseeching the spectators to fetch ladders. They were told by the police that the fire escapes had been sent for, but the smoke began in a few seconds to pour in such a dense body into the room that suffocation appeared certain. One woman then got to the sill of the window with an infant in her arms, and was just in the act of jumping out with the child (four other women were screaming at the same window), when the Royal Society's fire-escape reached the house. The conductor (Weaver) having placed the machine in front of the house, mounted and succeeded in saving the lives of six persons. The engines were soon on the spot, and the fire was extinguished. The house was not insured. The cause of the fire is unknown.

Susannah Harding, a well-dressed young woman, with an infant in her arms, applied to the Hon. G. C. Norton at the police court on Tuesday for a summons against the Reverend Alexander Gordon John Bishop, a clergyman of the Church of England, for a serious assault. The complainant, whose countenance bore proofs of gross brutality, stated that she had been living for some time with the Reverend Mr. Bishop, but since the birth of the infant in her arms, now 14 weeks old, she had not been with him. On the night before she went to see the reverend gentleman, at a cigar shop, in Exeter-street, Strand, which he frequented, and having met him there, he accompanied her as far as Waterloo-bridge. At the latter place he asked her where she had been during the day, and she replied that she had been to Greenwich Fair, and that she had taken her baby with her. He next asked her if she had any money in her pocket; and she replied that she had half-a-crown. He then said she had no business to go to Greenwich Fair, and gave her a severe blow on the left eye. She screamed out; upon which her assailant put her into a cab, and desired the cabman to drive her home. In reply to the magistrate, Susannah Harding said, the infant in her arms was the second illegitimate child she had had by her assailant, but the former was dead, and for the other she had taken out a summons against him at this court, and for doing this the reverend gentleman was very angry with her. Mr. Norton at once granted the summons, and as she said she had no money, directed that it should be granted free.

John Keene, aged 20, was hanged on the top of Horse-monger-lane Gaol on Tuesday morning, for the murder of an illegitimate child of his wife's. A crowd of at least 5000 persons were present, who screamed, cheered, and hissed most vociferously.

Sarah Ann French, who poisoned her husband, in order to be able to marry a young man named Hickman, was hanged in front of Lewes gaol on Saturday. William Rollinson, the poisoner of 83 years of age, who was left for execution at Bury St. Edmunds, has had an application made on his behalf at the last moment, in consequence of which his life will be spared, and the remainder of his existence passed in close confinement.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

The number of deaths from all causes registered in the metropolis in the week ending last Saturday was 1051. An improvement is evident when compared with the returns for the previous four weeks, in which severally the mortality rose above 1200. In the ten corresponding weeks of the year 1842-51 the average was 928, which, if corrected for increase of population, becomes 1032. The amount of last week, therefore, nearly coincides with the estimated number.

The table of fatal diseases still, however, shows 235 deaths caused by diseases of the organs of respiration, or nearly a fourth of the total number. The corrected average of this class is only 178. These 235 cases are thus distributed:—laryngitis 4, pleurisy 4, bronchitis 122, pneumonia 80, asthma and other diseases 25. Hence it appears, on a comparison with the previous week, that pneumonia continues as fatal, while bronchitis, which greatly exceeded the average, also maintains about the same amount. The number of deaths ascribed to phthisis is now less; it has decreased from 161 in the previous week to 146 in the last, which is about the average.

In the epidemic class of diseases there appears some tendency to increase. Smallpox was fatal to 25 children and 9 adults, scarlatina to 35 persons; 11 children were carried off by measles, 47 by whooping-cough, and 8 by croup; 4 persons died of influenza, 44 of typhus, &c., 2 of remittent fever, 2 of rheumatic fever, and 7 of erysipelas.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 9th inst., at Wilton-lodge, Taunton, the wife of Lieutenant-colonel James Davidson, 31st Regiment Madras Native Infantry: a daughter.

On the 11th inst., the wife of Dr. Henry Folkard, Old Brompton: a son.

On the 12th inst., at 110, Princess-street, Edinburgh, the Lady Anne Home Drummond: a son.

MARRIAGES.

On the 22nd ult., at Frankfurt-on-the-Main, by the Rev. W. Bolton, chaplain to H.B.M.'s Legation, Captain Francis Gebell (Austrian service), to Janet Gillies, eldest daughter of John Oliphant, Esq.

On Saturday last, at Birmingham, by George Dawson, M.A., James Aston Thomas, of 22, Summer-row, to Elizabeth Ann, only daughter of the late Henley Scofield, Esq., of Tipton.

On Tuesday, the 13th inst., at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, Commander T. G. Drake, R.N., son of the late Colonel George Drake, to Ellen Mary Catherine, fourth daughter of the Right Hon. J. W. Henry, M.P.

DEATHS.

On the 8th inst., at Althorp, the Lady Georgiana Frances Spencer, eldest daughter of Earl Spencer.

On the evening of the 7th inst., at his residence in Upper Grosvenor-street, John Crichton, Esq., aged 91.

On Saturday, the 10th inst., at Thorpe Rectory, the Rev. William George Blackden, rector of Thorpe, Derbyshire.

On Monday, the 12th inst., at her residence, No. 13, Charles-street, Trevor-square, Brompton, Margaret, relict of William Green, Esq., of the same place, aged 84.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

It is impossible to acknowledge the mass of letters we receive. Their insertion is often delayed, owing to a press of matter; and when omitted it is frequently from reasons quite independent of the merits of the communication.

No notice can be taken of anonymous communications. Whatsoever is intended for insertion must be authenticated by the name and address of the writer; not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of his good faith.

We cannot undertake to return rejected communications. All letters for the Editor should be addressed to 10, Wellington-street, Strand, London.

Communications should always be legibly written, and on one side of the paper only. If long, it increases the difficulty of finding space for them.

Postscript.

SATURDAY, April 17.

A MEETING of gentry, clergy, and agriculturists, resident in the county of Buckingham, was held at the George Hotel, Aylesbury, on Friday, for the purpose of voting confidence in the Earl of Derby and present administration. Upwards of 200 persons were present, the chair being filled by Mr. W. Lowndes, of Chesham, a gentleman well known for his attachment to the Conservative cause in this neighbourhood. In opening the proceedings the Chairman stated, that the meeting had been convened by the Conservative Club of Buckinghamshire, and that the object in view was to give their support to the present Government. Some resolutions had been prepared, which would be immediately submitted to their consideration.

Mr. Bernard said that for many years the agricultural interest of the country had endured great difficulties and privations; they had encountered them manfully, but they would not be a party to fettering the new ministry, based on sound conservative principles, by pledging them to any particular or specific measures, whether remedial or protective, but that, having confidence in them, they were prepared to accept such measures at their hands as they might in their judgment deem fair and honest to propose (cheers). He concluded by moving the first resolution, "That this meeting hails with satisfaction the formation of a Conservative Government, with the Earl of Derby at its head, believing the stability of the Throne and constitution, and the welfare of the best interests of this country, will be maintained and promoted by her Majesty's present advisers." (Cheers.)

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Newman, put to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

Mr. P. Box moved the next resolution:—"That this meeting observes with unfeigned disapprobation the factious attempt of the late Prime Minister, regardless of the circumstances under which the present Government were brought into office, to hastily force upon them a dissolution of parliament, which he had but a few days previously counselled her Majesty was impolitic and unwise." He declared that the opposition offered by Lord John Russell was factious, and that the country looked upon him with contempt as "a dishonourable man." Everybody, however, he shortly added with slight inconsistency, was banded against "the noble and chivalrous" Earl of Derby; the late Ministers—Mr. Cobden and "the democratic faction"—Sir James Graham, who had been coquetting with the Radicals, but who was despised by all as a "turn-coat." Mr. Box, however, "trusted the day would never arrive when the polluted stream of democracy, mingling with the equally filthy stream of political apostasy, would acquire force enough to undermine and sweep away the monarchical institutions of this country." (Cheers.)

Mr. E. W. S. Lowndes having seconded the resolution, it was put from the chair, and agreed to without a dissentient.

Mr. H. S. Trower proposed the next resolution:—"That although labouring under the baneful effects of the late free-trade legislation, this meeting is desirous that the present Government should, in devising a remedy for the still existing agricultural distress, be unfettered, feeling confidence that the agricultural interest will receive from them its due consideration, and that justice will be done by them to all classes of her Majesty's subjects." The resolution was agreed to, and a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Lowndes, the chairman, closed the proceedings of this extremely "influential" assemblage.

On Thursday night a meeting of the liberal electors of Nottingham was held in the Exchange Hall, for the purpose of hearing addresses from the Right Hon. Edward Strutt, and Mr. Thomas Gisborne, the candidates agreed upon by that party to be put in nomination at the next election. Proceedings were announced to commence at 7 o'clock, by which time only about 50 persons had assembled. At 9 the room was about three parts filled. Mr. Alderman Vickers presided. After explanations by Mr. T. Close of the exertions made to raise an opposition to Mr. Walter,

Mr. Strutt presented himself, and was warmly applauded. He expressed the gratification he had felt at receiving an invitation from an large body of electors to become a candidate. He stood before them no untried man, having represented his native town Derby for eighteen years, and in six Parliaments. Proceeding to explain his views on the leading questions of the day, he declared that he was no moderate convert to the principles of Free-trade; he had from the first voted for motions for the repeal of the Corn Laws, and he referred with approbation to the statement of Mr. S. Herbert, that any proposal to impose a Protective duty on corn was neither more nor less than an attempt "to give out-door relief to the country gentlemen." He rejoiced at the measure of Reform introduced during the present year by Lord J. Russell. There was, however, an important omission, inasmuch as it did not disfranchise small boroughs. Though prepared to support the enfranchisement of 51. occupiers, he thought the better course would have been to extend the privilege to those who held the municipal franchise. He was strongly in favour of the ballot. He expressed his anxiety for legal reform and the education of the people. He had always been in favour of the removal of civil and religious disabilities, and the abolition of church rates. (Cheers.)

Mr. Alderman Birkin proposed,—"That this meeting pledges itself to support the Right Hon. Edward Strutt and Mr. Thomas Gisborne at the coming election." Which resolution was seconded by Mr. Councillor Eyre, and carried; soon after which, the proceedings terminated.

The Conservatives of Sheffield are about to bring out Mr. William Overend, barrister-at-law, of the Northern Circuit and West Riding petty sessions bar. He is brother of Mr. Wilson Overend, of Sheffield, a magistrate of the West Riding of Yorkshire, of the county of Derby, and of the borough of Sheffield. The Overends are an old and highly-respected Sheffield family, and the new candidate will undoubtedly be "respectably" supported, if not numerously. A requisition has been presented to Mr. Overend, signed by about 160 electors, out of a constituency of upwards of 5000. His reply, consenting to be put in nomination, was received in Sheffield on Friday.

Sir Watkin Williams Wynn has sent a circular, occupying about four lines of print in the Times, to his constituents in Denbighshire, without offering the slightest explanation of his views for the future, and requesting them to excuse "a personal canvas in consequence of my intended marriage." Colonel Myddelton Biddulph intends contesting the county, but the large-acre Baronet, notwithstanding his laconic address, is supposed to be named of his seat. The other member, Mr. Bagot, is not so sure.

The O'Gorman Mahon arrived in Ennis on Wednesday evening, and met but an indifferent reception from the constituency. His appearance in the streets was the signal for uproar and shouting, but by some of his friends he was cordially welcomed back.

The contest at Macclesfield will be between three candidates, Mr. John Brocklehurst, a silk manufacturer, banker, and Whig; Mr. John Williams, M.P., in the Reform interest; and Mr. E. C. Egerton, a barrister, and Conservative. Mr. Williams has, during the past week, been actively canvassing the electors, and at meetings of his friends has expressed himself certain of being returned.

The Princess's Concert Room, Castle-street, Oxford-street, was well filled, on Friday, at a meeting of the inhabitants of Marylebone, for the purpose of concerting measures for the preservation of the Crystal Palace. Admiral Sir George Sartoris presided. Mr. Macgregor, M.P., moved the first resolution, that the Crystal Palace be preserved in its present site. Mr. Oliveira seconded it, which was also supported by Mr. W. Williams, M.P., and Mr. Nicholas, and carried unanimously. Mr. Bell, M.P., proposed the second resolution,—"That it is the opinion of the meeting that the Crystal Palace, arranged as a winter garden, with collections illustrative of nature, science, and art, would greatly tend to the amusement and instruction of the people;" which was seconded by Mr. Buckton, supported by Dr. Trueman, Mr. Graham, and Mr. Forrester, and unanimously carried. Sir Joseph Paxton, and other gentlemen, addressed the company, petitions to Parliament were adopted, and the meeting broke up.

M. Thiers, while Minister of Louis Philippe, was the first to bring into notice Count Walewski, at that time contributor to a newspaper that supported the government. The French ambassador is still on terms of social intercourse with his former patron, and has even attempted to negotiate his return from exile. In one of his visits to M. Thiers it is reported that Count Walewski said,—"The thing would be easy. You have no need to address a direct demand to the President of the Republic, but only to write me a private letter, making known your desire, and you can then return immediately." On this occasion, M. Thiers replied that he would take no step, direct or indirect. A few days ago, however, M. Walewski went to him, and offered him a passport without conditions. M. Thiers replied by, it is said, a positive refusal. He remarked that he would not accept a personal favour, but would only return to France when his friends should do so.



The Leader

SATURDAY, APRIL 17, 1852.

Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—DR. ARNOLD.

THE BRITISH SUBJECT A COCK-SHY FOR EUROPE.

SHROVE TUESDAY has just passed, but there was no throwing at the Shrove-cock. It was an unmanly sport, and not to be regretted; but we do not like the substitute. Ancient customs generally survive in an altered form: Ceres and Triptolemus still watch over the vineyards of Italy in shrines now said to be dedicated to "the Virgin and child." So the British subject used to have his fling at the cock on Shrove Tuesday; now denizens of other countries may have their fling at the Englishman, all the year round.

Formerly the British subject carried his rights along with him, and the power of England was understood to be at his back wherever he went; but we have abandoned that old-fashioned notion. Cromwell, Lord Palmerston, and other obsolete persons, used to boast of their adherence to the maxim, but Lord Palmerston was the last in that line. He was distrusted by the "Court," and dismissed by his colleagues for a too independent temper: and now the Tory successors of the plant Whigs have adopted the Russell idea, of lashing up indignities, lest resentment should "lead to war." By favour of that patronage, the sport of British subject-hunting has suddenly grown common.

Tuscany is a favourite resort for lovers of the sport, and we have already a string of some dozen "outrages," all happening since the year 1850. A price used to be charged for the sport of cock-shying: the British Government suffers the Austrians to fling at Mr. Mather, but exacts a fine. With regard to inferior birds, the sport may be enjoyed without payment: as we see in the case of Corporal Baggs, whose story we copy from the *Daily News*. Mr. Baggs afforded great sport to the gendarmes of Leghorn. He is a sturdy fellow, and was dressed in the British uniform. The fact of "Her Majesty's Ship" to which Corporal Baggs belongs, being in the port, may have added a keener relish to the insult. It would convince the popular Tuscan mind that British broadsides are mere popguns, when Malmesbury is Minister. By the help of numbers, the official Austrian bravos, after dogging his footsteps like a thief's, arrested him as he walked peaceful and harmless in the open street, and tried to chain him. He smashed the chains, and had almost made himself free; but he was overpowered again, manacled, tied on his back to a table, and then marched in broad day time through the gazing street—in her Majesty's uniform and in chains! Mr. Baggs and his commanding officer exacted reparation; but Lord Malmesbury is quite "satisfied." Friend and correspondent of Louis Napoleon, Lord Malmesbury has no such aversion to manacles, that he cannot tolerate the chaining of a British subject; as much a philosopher as if he were a mere Whig, the Tory Minister has no traditional superstition in favour of the British uniform. Besides, it was only a common person. Mather enjoyed the dignity of being paid for, but Baggs may be bullied gratis. Lord Malmesbury does not exactly give "orders to the play" for his friends the Austrians; but the understanding suffices.

Of course, the fact officially intimated in the Granville despatches to Austria direct, and now so abundantly exemplified in Tuscany, that British subjects are lawful game, will become generally known; and the privilege will be extended to other countries, with the smiling consent of our Foreign-office, delighted to have renewed friendly relations with our natural allies.

The present system, we suppose, is what modern statesmen call "moral force"—the force of pusillanimity allied to the moral of abandoning

your countrymen. It is understood to be conducive to the maintenance of peace; but it becomes an interesting question how far the sport can be permitted; and, when it becomes intolerable, what amount of resistance may be necessary? Had it been stopped at once, resolutely, Austria would certainly have desisted. At first she asserted her privilege meekly, by encroachment: the responsibility was evaded by shuffling from the weak to the strong and from the strong to the weak: if redress were demanded in Florence, they said, "Oh! it was the Austrians that did it." If in Vienna, "Oh! please, Sir, it was not done here, but in Florence." But now it will be felt that there is no responsibility to evade, and Austria may roundly assert her right to this kind of chace. Presently it will be understood in Europe that negroes, fellahs, and Englishmen may be beaten with equal impunity. By degrees they will learn that the dominant peace-party in England makes no distinction of rank; and, beginning with Mather and Baggs, the fast men of the Austrian police may carry on the game until they bait an Earl, badger a descendant of our Barons bold, and make a cockshy of a Duke. Would Cobden, Russell, and Derby, be any the more ready to go to war on behalf of a Buckingham than a Baggs? They dare not say yes. And if they were, how much war would it now take to convince Austria that she was mistaken in classing Englishmen among ordinary beasts of chace, *ferre nature*? A premium has been offered for the practice, and we do not see what chance there is of arresting it without measures violent in proportion to their incredibility. The pacific passiveness, then, leads only to war.

We say nothing of the honour: now-a-days that might be considered an irrelevant issue.

THE DOWN-TRODDEN INDUSTRIAL PARTIES.

"PARLIAMENT," as a sergeant learned in the law used to say, "can do anything, except enact rain or sunshine;" yet Parliament seems to entertain the utmost difficulty in dealing with its own creations. Although most statutes contain a clause specifying that "this act may be repealed during the present session," Parliament always hesitates in meddling with its own acts. Not because they are sacred, for it will "repeal" anything for a frolic; but the fact is, that Parliament is dismayed at the prospect of revising its own work, on account of the terrible confusion which it will have to penetrate.

As a spendthrift augments his own troubles in the dread of grappling with them, so Parliament yearly adds to its mass of tangled law, without courage so to arrange the whole as to secure that the additions shall fit. Hence projects for codification—the Criminal Law Commission, to be followed by others; the new *Law Reformer* and *Victoria Code Journal*, to promote codification generally; and other plans, like Mr. George Coode's, for special "digests." Mr. Coode proposes a digest of a set of statutes which would have been supposed to be peculiarly compact and definite—the Poor Laws:

"The Poor-law statutes now in force wholly or partially," says Mr. Coode, "are about 160 (162) in number, besides a multitude of incidental provisions dispersed through statutes mainly relating to other subjects. Of these Poor-law acts, at least 40 (43) have accumulated since the enactment of the Poor-law Amendment Act in 1834. The entire series is spread through the statutes at large from 1603 to 1851 (249 years), and they differ as much as during so great a period might be expected, in policy, expression, form, and substance. They have been the subject of discussion and of judicial exposition quite as various in its character, in more than 1,900 reported cases (counting only those which still are of some authority), dispersed absolutely without order through the works of at least 62 legal reporters and 149 volumes, of which a few are still only in black letter, and many others are scarce, and rarely referred to.

"Of all this mass of print, but a comparatively small portion is in effectual operation as law at the present time. In a digest which I was in the course of preparing, by authority of the Poor-law Commission, about twelve years ago, and which included all the Poor-law Acts between the years 1840 and 1766, the matter found to be in operation, when stripped of all that was useless and unnecessary, and the result reduced to a methodical form, but retaining its original expression in all cases to the very letter, was found to be diminished to less than one-fiftieth of its original bulk. Of the reported decisions, upwards of 3,504

pages of letter-press, folio and octavo, when rigidly analyzed and their effect interpolated in its proper place in the statutory matter which they interpreted, added just 248 words, or about one-half of an octavo page, to the digest. In other words, on this scale, 7,000 pages of the reports would have supplied about one page to the digest."

Mr. Coode proposes to make an authoritative digest of this mass: the Commissioners object that it is not exactly the time to do so, when the laws of Settlement and Removal are under discussion, with a view to alteration; on which Mr. Coode rejoins, that a digest is the very thing that is needed, "as the preliminary to all safe legislation and consolidation."

The proposal is the proof at once of the confusion, of the need for a clue, and of the possibility of extrication. But the objection of the Commissioners enormously underestimates the real obstacle. The fact is, that the Poor Laws, as they are called—the laws which directly connect the State with the regulation of industry—are altogether under discussion, and the reports of the Commissioners prove that the responsible officers are wholly incapable of dealing with the question as it is now opened. See the slight glancing notice which the last *Blue Book*, the Fourth Annual Report of the present Commission, makes of the subject of industrial training. The materials for a full report lie all around; the actual administrators of the law are taking up the subject practically; but the readers of the tracts put forth by the Poor-Law Amendment Society, since its renewed activity, or of the *Leader* since its commencement, are better informed than Parliament is through its own Commission, on the progress which has been made in the question of reproductive employment.

The question, however, is rapidly assuming dimensions which forbid its being much longer neglected. Upon it turns far more than mere Poor-Law Administration. The industrial classes throughout the country will soon be clamouring for some intervention that shall reduce the present anarchy to order; and their demands will tell even upon political parties. The Amalgamated Society has been defeated for the moment; but the claim which it embodies, the claim of the town operatives to have an equal voice with capital in regulating industrial occupations, survives, to pursue many a candidate for Parliamentary honours; and in many towns, even the working-classes can hold the balance. We have already advised them to make the Labour Question heard at the hustings and felt at the poll. In the rural districts, a vague, uneasy sense of injustice is stirring farmers and labourers, and that feeling also will have to be encountered at the coming election, by those who can only perceive it at such magnetic periods. In such districts, they will vote for the present Ministry to a man, not because they expect the renewal of Protection, but because they expect no consideration for the Land, or for Labour, from the "Liberal" party. And they are right: as a party, the Liberals, so-called, *despise the claims both of Land and of Labour*.

To the agriculturist this contempt comes in a highly practical form. He is told to trust to himself; but he finds himself hedged in with circumstances and laws that prevent his acting freely or effectively. It is not alone the repeal of the corn-laws that exposes him to hurt. He finds that, under Free-trade, for instance, which admits American cheese, the goods which formerly brought him 4l. 4s. in the market, now bring him 2l. 10s. Ask the Somersetshire farmer if we are not stating plain facts? He is told to improve his farming; but where is his capital? He never had much, and his rent eats up what he might have. He has never heard of "concert" as a social doctrine, but he has a dim idea that if he could come to an understanding with the customers in towns, he might render his business less precarious. Not in the towns of the North: he hates those as the strongholds of his bitterest enemies. He only knows that he cannot compete with a cheese-growing Cheshire somewhere in America as big as the United Kingdom; and if they cannot order it better than they have done at home, he wishes to emigrate to that more fortunate Cheshire in the Republic, or to quasi-republican Australia, where it is easier to pick up gold than it is to make cheeses in monarchical England. He is losing faith in a monarchy that he knows by its taxes, in an aristocracy that he knows by its rent, in Liberals that he knows by

their harsh doctrines, and by their defeat of his friends, the kinder sort of landlords—of whom we believe there are still many, who live at home among their tenantry, and suffer with them; and he will vote for the Tory Government, which he still believes to have some consideration for land and labour.

He does not enter into the question of *production*, on which all industrial welfare turns; nor will we enter into that now: we only note, for the week, that there is anarchy in industry at present; that the industrial classes both of town and country feel the evil of that anarchy, although they cannot analyze it; and that at the election, they will either call the theorizing economists of the arrogant necessitarian school roughly to account, or will simply trust to feeling and sympathy, without a philosophical economy that can do no better than enact helpless confusion and self-consuming pauperism. We are not now advising them; we are only reporting their sentiments; but there is much truth in the instinctive dictates of their rude practical sense.

THE ANGLO-SAXONS IN ASIA.

It is only at rare and long intervals that English public opinion is brought to bear upon the great features of our Indian policy. And, indeed, it is not often that any facts struggle into light regarding the real government of India, as distinguished from its administration. The general external and internal relations of our Eastern Empire are regulated in England by a system even more mysterious and more irresponsible than that secret diplomacy that is permitted to gamble in our name, with closed doors, and in the worst company, for such stakes as the national honour and the young liberties of Europe. The President of the Board of Control, representing the Cabinet, and the Secret Committee of three of the Court of Directors, (who have virtually no power of resistance to the Minister's wishes, so that absolute authority is wielded by one man,) send their secret orders for peace or war, and all other points of imperial magnitude, to the Government of India by every overland mail, without any reasonable prospect of being ever called to a reckoning, or being required to give the slightest explanation of the grounds of their procedure. And even if disaster or indignant complaint should force the discussion of some Indian affair on Parliament, it is impossible to get any more information from the Board of Control than the President thinks it prudent to supply. Even to this day, there are several cases of by-gone wars and conquests in which it is unknown whether they were undertaken by the ambitious patriotism of our viceroys and generals, or by the private directions of the secret conclave in Cannon Row.

The extortions practised on two English merchant captains by the Burmese Governor of Rangoon six months ago, will probably be the ostensible cause of adding some thirty thousand square miles of territory to our dominion. For the Government of India has not despatched a formidable steam squadron, and a force of eight or ten thousand men, merely for the purpose of chastising the Government of Ava, and forcing them to compliance with our original demands of apology and compensation, even with a round sum added for the expenses of the war. Punishment and humiliation, as experience shows, are not recorded and remembered sufficiently in Burmah to serve as a permanent warning and restraint. The Court of Ava will not be brought to reason without having felt the weight of our arms once more; and the British troops will not retire until future interference with our commerce is rendered impossible by the occupation of Rangoon and Martaban, the two principal ports, and, perhaps, the cession of the maritime province which so provokingly intervenes between our possessions of Arracan and Tenasserim.

The terms offered to the Burmese Government were extraordinarily moderate. Lord Dalhousie was censured in some of the Calcutta journals for being unmindful of British honour and dignity; and was praised by others for his laudable desire to avoid hostilities. But we think that the Peace Society would take a more than usually superficial view of the case, if they were to vote a medal to the Governor General in honour of his pacific intentions. This appearance of moderation, as the result proves, was the very policy best calculated to lead the Burmese court into greater insolence, arrogance and obstinacy, and

thus to precipitate a war which had for many years been hanging over successive Indian Governments. And there never has been a period within the last ten years, when troops and steamers could so easily be spared from all the three Presidencies. It was clearly our interest, therefore, to get the war over, and have done with it as soon as might be; and to take care that the quarrel should be wide enough, and the provocation sufficiently great to justify us in inflicting a heavy retribution, and in exacting a large cession of territory as a security against future annoyances and insults. Moderation at the outset would entitle us to make enormous demands at the close of the war.

The Burmese Government, however, has none of our sympathy; we do not doubt the justice and expediency of its condign punishment; but there is a rumour current in well-informed circles to the effect that this Burmese war, although its ostensible cause is partially a true one, is intended by its conduct and results to baffle and defeat the long cherished objects of a power of much greater importance than the empire of Asia.

Yes, we have a suspicion that there was a still more urgent determining cause which disposed the English Government not to let slip the opportunity of a definitive and crushing war with Burmah. The great Western Republic has lately, by various symptoms, shown strong Asiatic predilections. A formidable expedition has just been fitted out, publicly, but we believe not officially, said to be intended for Japan, and no one can say how large a discretionary power may be given to its commander. Since the repeal of the Navigation Laws, the trade of the United States in the Indian seas has trebled itself, and their Government has gradually strengthened the naval squadron for the protection of this increasing commerce. The *Susquehanna*, one of the most powerful steam-frigates in the world, now carries the Commodore's flag on that station. American merchant captains have suffered extortions and ill-treatment to as great an extent, and quite as frequently, as English. American residents at Rangoon, traders and missionaries, have on more than one occasion been compelled to seek refuge under the British flag; and this necessity has been deplored in several of the most important American journals. Of course, if we were to decline or to neglect to insist on fair treatment of foreigners by the Burmese authorities, and equitable conditions and facilities for trade, the American Government would at last proceed to enforce these advantages by its own power, while we should have no right to object, or to interfere with their operations. Our influence would decline, the Yankees would obtain a foot-hold in ultra Gangetic India, and might establish the nucleus of a rival Eastern Empire *vis-à-vis* to our own. But our prompt chastisement of the Burmese would leave them no ground of complaint; a decisive conquest would prevent future chances of provocation and temptation; the possession of all the ports, if not all the coast, would remove the alarming vision of the star-spangled banner pitched on Asiatic soil.

Now if the report of this jealousy and distrust of our brethren by blood and language be true, as it certainly is well authenticated, we can only regard it as another proof of the unsusceptibility of our hereditary alternative rulers to all the kindling national instincts, and of their inability to work with and by the spirit of the day. America has a growing interest in Asia,—there is no doubt of it. Why should it be feared? Why should it be thwarted? Jealousy and distrust are the most fruitful sources of intrigue and aggression: confidence begets amity and openness. The American alliance is a certainty in the future; not only do the most farsighted statesmen in both countries proclaim it, but it is dreaded by the absolutist powers, and invoked by every stifled nationality on the continent. Our own officials shrink from anything so new and powerful. But they cannot ultimately thwart it, any more than they can arrest the progress of the Americans in the other quarters of the world. It can't be done; then why try to do it? Why attempt it by secret and indirect means? It is high time that mystifications between England and America should cease. Whatever may be the purpose of the movements made in the East by the managers of the two great Anglo-Saxon families, the result can be rendered hazardous

only by misunderstanding. The two peoples have similar objects, growing sympathies, common interests; and at least nothing but good and safety can be derived from a full and frank understanding. That is, under all circumstances, the sure and safe recourse between two such nations. Should it not be attained at once, the Americans will bear in mind the distinction which we have already pointed out to them between Downing-street and England.

THE NEW ARISTOCRACY.

HENCEFORTH the towns are to govern the country; such is the edict that has gone forth from Manchester by the mouth of her most favoured son—an edict accepted somewhat too readily by the "Liberal" politicians. In his rejected Reform Bill, Lord John Russell offered a compromise between town and country, proposing to set up a kind of new generation of Whig boroughs to act as a mediating power. But according to a boast ascribed to a leading manufacturer, that position of the Whig interceders has already been "turned"; for the manufacturers are already buying up the land, have really made great progress in extending their acquisitions, and threaten in a few years to be in possession of the whole!

We do not know how far this is a sanguine view; but it has some confirmation in other circumstances. That the manufacturers and large retail dealers represent the most remarkable instances of individual wealth acquired in rapid methods is notorious. On the other hand, the decaying means of the landed aristocracy are equally notorious. The forfeiture of the Buckingham estates, that "princely" domain, is an example imitated on every variety of scale in every country, and in every degree of country gentleman; while the creation of the house of Peel is an example also that has had many imitations. The Encumbered Estates Act has had an unexpected result in Ireland, in the general shifting of property; and an Encumbered Estates Act in England is demanded, and deprecated, with equal fervour on the two sides, from the expectation that it would have effects not less striking. If the boast of the proud manufacturer does not proclaim a new Domesday Book as a *fait accompli*, at least it proclaims the will to avenge on the descendants of the feudal Normans the wrongs of the Anglo-Saxon proprietors. "South Sussex" aspires to reverse the battle of Hastings.

In such case, England would be endowed with a new aristocracy; and it becomes a question whether the change would be one for the better? We are very far from being disposed to think so. It is to be observed that the new aristocracy would take its rise from amongst a class quite unlike that of the old merchant, properly so called. The new class comprises the makers of cloth and cotton goods, and of retail dealers on an immense scale, with a sprinkling of dealers in money who have profited by ministering to the conveniences of capital. The prince merchant, never very well naturalized in England, belonged to another age. He occupied a commanding position; in his counting-house converged the different branches of trade, which there uniting, made up the entirety called commerce; and his prosperity was, not only in truth, but obviously and on the very surface, identified with that of the country at large. In more modern times, the position of command has passed to the manufacturer, or the mere "capitalist"; the function of the merchant is more and more transferred to the mere agent; and the division of employments has cut up a national order into trading classes, each with a speciality. Thus, national feeling is superseded by class feeling: the manufacturer's philosophy attains its consummation in "free trade"; his only aspiration is to be "let alone"; take care of the manufacturers, he would say, and the nation can take care of itself—only he would make the care self-acting—let the manufacturer take care of himself, "No. 1," and the nation can take care of itself. Hence, in great part, the decline of nationality amongst us—for our commerce has ceased to be national; hence the false Peace with its cry of "Peace in trade, and good will amongst manufacturers and consumers." And this is the class that is aspiring to become the land-owning class.

The members of the class are already furnishing their mansions, and in a style of ambitious

luxury. The heights of Lancashire and Cheshire are already dotted with the country houses of the new nobility. The would-be prince-traders are patronizing their Raphaels and Titians, and in a characteristic manner. New forms of picture dealing are invented for the occasion. A dealer now enters the studio of an artist, looks around him, and makes an offer, in a round sum, for all that it contains: every scrap is swept off! It is a speculative purchase: the picture dealer sells again, to the rapidly furnishing manufacturer noble. Authentic Annibales and genuine Giorgiones are not needed for this market; but the dealer can offer an undoubted M'Gelp, or a celebrated Asphaltum, R.A., and by the law of supply and demand, M'Gelps have quite taken the shine out of Raphaels. Every season has its patterns! Thus the mansion of the new aristocracy finds its Parnassus.

It is all *en suite*—the man is new, the house is new, the furniture is new, the heraldry is new, the ideas are new, the pictures are new. No traditions—you can't have a new tradition. No high spirit—"E. & S. d." does not admit of high spirit. No public feeling—class looks to itself, and has no care for the people; rather the reverse: probably a really popular or natural extension of the suffrage has no more inveterate obstructors than some of the employing class. But with these negations, how can such a class stand? Fearless it may be, and is; for that which has faith in negation can have nought to fear; but what power can it have? What influence beyond the bated dole of stunted wages? What root in the soil can that class have which specially claims to make the surface of the planet, without regard to the living creatures on it, a matter of sale, of "Free-trade?" None; there is no immortality in such a class. Neither aristocratic, nor democratic, neither claiming nor rendering affection, it can have no hold on the country. Like the dust of a departing winter, it does but cover the ground for a time, and await a wind to blow it away, or a flood to sweep it off in undistinguishable mud.

But there is a redemption in all things. The newly possessed class cannot become an aristocracy without acquiring some of the habits of such an order; and this may save a portion of it from being swept away. Art, however little mellowed, must insinuate ideas of grace apart from mechanical profit; leisure must give freer play to the faculties; ease must give that generosity, at least, which lies in superiority to petty anxieties and parsimonies; opportunity, ambition; ambition, spirit; spirit, deeds—or a wife, daughter of the Norman; and, having taken "surname and arms," the grandson of Cotton Print will blaze upon the world in gold and gules. But then who will know the difference—who will detect the drop of new blood amid the sea of "blue blood" in which it is merged?

THE TRUTH THAT THERE IS IN RE-ACTION.

It is sheer empiricism to say that the re-action which is gaining ground in Europe is the effect of the revolution of 1848 in its rebound. It might as well be said that the highwayman who makes you stand and deliver is the re-action on the pistols in your carriage. The present re-action, as it is called, is but the continuation of the policy which prevailed before 1848. Let us not misunderstand it. It is a deliberate and combined attempt to suppress, not only acts, but thoughts, by force of arms.

In France, the agents of Louis Napoleon arrange the people's thoughts for them. The teaching at the Universities is altered, omitting history and philosophy wholly, because they suggest "doubt." Emile de Girardin is "warned," by decree, that he must not historically contemplate the possibility of an attempt against constituted authority: the 2nd of December could prove such a possibility, practically; but a writer must not calculate it, theoretically. The agents of the Government even arrange the amusements of the people—and settle the sizes of their play-bills and the order of them. But there is nothing new in all this—it is the Austrian system.

The system has only received a new lease at head quarters. The stability of its tenure is proved by the little shock which it has sustained through the death of Schwarzenberg. On the first subversion of absolute authority by right divine, Stadion proposed to make concessions: the Liberals would not accept the proffered concessions: Stadion was driven out of his wits, and Schwar-

zenberg restored the old policy—absolute authority and no surrender. "The unity of the Empire," that Mezentian unity which kills all whom it unites, was his battle-cry. He reorganized the armies, used the sword vigorously, promptly, and unscrupulously; and the shattered power of Austria was again erect. His colleague, Bach, an apostate liberal, survives him; his pupil, Francis Joseph, has served an apprenticeship to the same art. "The King is dead,—long live the King!" Machiavelli is a classic—long live Machiavellism. Metternich is superannuated—long live Metternichism. Schwarzenberg is defunct—long live Schwarzenbergism. It is in the ascendant, from Cape Spartivento to the White Sea.

The philosophy of the age which caused the Austrian dictators so much trouble, has given them the opportunity of defeating it. Men, said Philosophy, must think for themselves; and Austria had no logic to refute a claim so fatal to Absolutism. Nations, said Philosophy, are greater than families, and their desires must be respected; a claim from which Emperors and Popes ran away to Gaëta or to Innspruch. But Reason, said Philosophy, is greater than brute force; the pen can write down the sword any day; and true patriotism shall rest on a peaceful logic. The highwayman rejoiced when the traveller resolved to join issue on logical grounds. On those grounds he gave in, content to rest his conclusions on the pistol. Thus it has come about that both sides are dead beaten: Absolutism has not a leg to stand upon—in the field of Philosophy; but in the field of Absolutism Philosophy is equally off its legs—shot from under it. Sylogistically, the victory is to Philosophy; pistologically it is to Absolutism. The canons are invincible—in the library; so are the cannons—in the streets. Thought is free—it cannot be controlled; but it cannot preach. Philosophers have forgotten that the preacher must have a body, and that the body is subject to physical laws.

In some countries thought does attain the maximum of freedom—the whole amount which can be possessed by virtue of the will of the number. In Switzerland, no Emperor arranges studies for the people. In the United States, no President dictates the omission of newspaper articles, arranges the playbills, or teaches the young idea to train its branches on the walls of his conservatory. But then in America and in Switzerland, although the reason is sharpened by exercise, so is the eye and hand, and the right arm is prepared to defend the freedom of the person, without which freedom of thought can have no effective concrete existence in society. In other words, vigour of action and freedom of thought are *on the same side*. Allied, reason and force are supreme; separated, Reason may retain an abstract superiority, but the governance of the body is handed to Unreason; and it wields its privilege mercilessly, as we see now in France, in Austria—in Europe generally. Unreason is triumphant, because Reason has come to the wise conclusion that the lever of worldly power should be left to the servants of Unreason; and then Reason, wise in its generation, breaks forth into hysterical complaints at the cruelties of Despotism; or takes refuge in a supine resignation, thanking God that it is not criminal, but only enslaved. On such pretexts, it lies under the feet of Absolutism, and thinks itself superior; not perceiving that Absolutism at least knows how to attain and keep political power. We are driven, in fact, to this conclusion—that Philosophy, wise and philanthropic, is content to leave the world to the mercy of Austrianism and all its debasing cruelties. Austrianism does not treat its clients so, but takes the necessary means to secure success for them and for itself; and it does succeed.

TAXATION REDUCED TO UNITY AND SIMPLICITY.

I.

How comes it that taxation is everywhere associated with a repugnance which attaches to no other kind of expense? The man who would disdain to cheat his butcher or his baker of a single penny, buys smuggled kegs without the slightest twinge of conscience, nay, with secret exultation; and evasions of the revenue in any safe form are freely indulged in by thousands who are trusted and honoured by their neighbours for their probity.

Our modern system of taxation—if system it may be called—is historically descended from the rapine of

marauders, caterans, and feudal chiefs. The lineage is unbroken—it is only the features that are changed. The stoppage of a defile against an Asiatic caravan, or threats of an onslaught in the desert, to be averted in either case only by purchased permission to pass—the annual or biennial expeditions of governments in the East to collect tribute—the capricious exactions by local and often private authority on commerce *in transitu*, at a thousand places in India—the plunder of voyagers by the barons of the Rhine—the blackmail of the Highlander—the violent sharing in the gains of trade to be found in the practice, past or present, of most countries of Europe and the East—the fines on successions, and numberless other claims enforced by our feudal Kings, and, rank after rank, by all below them—these and the like, all the world over, are the historic sources of our existing modes of taxation.

In not a few countries these impost still exist in their primitive state. It is worth remarking, that India, native and British, shows and has shown them, like Cantelo's chickens, in every stage of development, from the incipient condition of blackmail and passage-money to the mature tax soberly levied, until very lately, by the British Government, which is known to have originated within a very few generations in the extortions of periodical raids. In other countries, and particularly in our own, the original character of tribute has well nigh disappeared. Ages have elaborated from this chaos of exactions a machine of singular infelicity for supplying the expenses of government—the term "government" itself being correspondingly understood in a far different sense from that it formerly bore. However inept may be our present *modes of taxation*, it must be allowed that our conceptions of its *purposes* are vastly improved. The old phase of the matter was that of a levy by force of whatever the lord paramount or intermediate chose to take, and its appropriation first to the lord's pleasure, and next, if it so happened, to public purposes. In many countries this character of taxation has been somewhat modified; with us it has wholly disappeared. But even here the past has left its traces, and among those branches of our system of taxation which still bear clear marks of origin, are the customs, derived from the old exactions on travellers; the licenses on trades, exactly conforming to undisguised extortions of the same kind in other countries; and the post-office, which, though of modern birth, rests on a supposed right of the Government to monopolize any branch of industry, if so it please.

We derive, then, from the old times, our system of indirect taxation; but, as occurs on every other subject, we have theories by which to defend, as excellent in itself, the chance result of successive changes and accidental combinations. We are taxed indirectly through our having gradually changed a state of violence into a state of law, and we thereupon raise most ingenious reasons to satisfy ourselves that indirect taxation is the best possible thing of the kind, although not one in a thousand of us would arrive by any process at such a system if he sat down to devise a plan for apportioning the expenses of the state amongst its members.

One of the faults of our present plan of taxation is the absence of obvious relation between the impost and the service done for it. We want money to pay the officers of the Government, the judges, the magistracy, the police, the soldiers, &c., and we take the strange course of telling every washerwoman in the three kingdoms, that she shall not drink her cup of coffee until she has paid us as much as we think it politic to fix as the price of our permission. Betty, blind to the *quid pro quo*, it may be, considers the impost a grievance. Nor is she wholly wrong; for probably our transit duty on her coffee extorts from her more than her fair share of the common expense; and, moreover, of the extra penny she pays on her coffee it is likely not much more than a halfpenny goes to her contribution to the service of the State, the other halfpenny is collection, and waste, from the incompatible embarrassments and losses consequent on the formalities needful for collection. If a tradesman were compelled by a strong neighbour to pay blackmail on every pair of boots he kept in his house, while at the same time a due supply of beef reached his table every day from some unknown source, he would soon come to taking the beef as a gift of nature, like the air, for which he would thank nobody (just as we take safety, peace, and protection to property under regular government), and would resist or evade the apparent robbery regulated by the number of his boots. True, it might be that the boot-tax really paid for the beef; but the want of all apparent connexion would certainly have spoiled his contentment with the tax: and, moreover, the funds for supplying beef would be put into unnatural jeopardy by the false relation; for the number of his boots would be reduced to the smallest which would keep him shod, whatever his consumption of the viands the tax should pay for. Bare feet, indeed, might be the compulsory

lot of many from such a system, although they still had their share of beef;—to what effect on shoemakers let some of our late and present taxes tell.

Here, then, is enough to account for the peculiar repugnance everywhere felt to taxes. It is true that the advantages for which they pay—order, security, quiet, are of the very first necessity; but we do not see that a high price of coffee, or a prohibitory duty on wines or windows, has anything to do with it. We shirk the payment, and we get individually just as much advantage from Government, whatever it is, as though we most conscientiously paid in full. If the assessment on the income of a merchant should be regulated by means of some fancied proportion between the number of stools in his counting-house, and the extent of his business, he would soon think the stool-tax oppressive, and his clerks would have to learn to work standing. Meanwhile, his counting-house, his warehouses, and his ships, would be as well watched, and the courts would be as open to him for redress, as though each of his clerks had a stuffed arm-chair, and a tax were paid for it.

It has been alleged in favour of indirect taxation, that it permits a man to tax himself or not, as he pleases: if tobacco be highly taxed, he may smoke or not, or so pay or not, at will. This is only partially true; for indirect taxes are not, and cannot be, all on articles which may be dispensed with. But, as far as this allegation is true, it tells the other way. The necessary wants of the community incur certain inevitable costs, and the contribution to them is so apportioned by indirect taxation, that any individual may avoid his own share, and leave his fellows to pay it.

So also it has been said, that taxes are paid quietly on the indirect system, which could not be raised at all with undisguised directness. So much the worse. Let people see what they have to pay for the follies of rulers, and rulers will be careful what follies they commit. Let a man find that he has to pay, say in some classes, two or five pounds, in others, two or five shillings more this year than last, on account of a Kafir war, a Greek demonstration, or a Portuguese dynasty, and one of two things will happen;—either he and his neighbours will make so much stir about the cost, that Greeks, Kafirs, and Portuguese dynasties will thenceforward be very charily dealt with; or he will gain so much the more respect for the object accomplished, for having conscientiously and approvingly paid his own money towards its cost. By either process, the direct system of taxation reduces the acts of the Government into a more national identification with the general sentiments of the people, and all the more so, from its being impossible, on that system, for any class—rich, agricultural, or noble, to shift the burden, and the consequent responsibility of expense, on their countrymen less favourably conditioned.

We pause on the threshold of the subject. The true principles of taxation will hereafter claim our attention. Nor will illustrations, both of true and false principles, be wanting. Q.

THE IMPROVED CHARACTER OF WORKING CLASS CONTESTS.

THERE is much right in the world which does not triumph because no one affords the conditions whereby it can be done. Right is a distant shrine, and the road to it lies through man's pride and prejudice. A man may see the right afar off—may wish to approach it—may be disposed to do homage at its shrine; but if you block up the avenues through which he has to pass, you make allegiance to the right impossible: the man never gets there.

Every now and then we are on the eve of a public acknowledgment of some great principle, when some folly, indiscretion, or obstinacy turns it aside, and condemns us to twenty years more of agitation. A national voice is heard in St. Stephens for Parliamentary Reform, when a monster Petition, with fabricated signatures, turns a tide of derision upon it. Personal protests arrest the busy ear of the public, when a 10th of April creates an absurd reaction; and so we go on, clamouring and frustrating—fraternizing and antagonizing.

It is pleasant to turn from these disasters to the contest conducted by the Amalgamated Engineers. They will fail in their particular objects of abolishing piecework and systematic overtime. No Trades-union can compete against a Capital-union. This was well known before. But the Amalgamated Engineers have put upon record a case of well-considered resistance, which elevates Labour in the eyes of the public. The Employers appealed to Political Economy. Mr. Ludlow, in his admirable lectures, has indisputably shown that Political Economy was on the side of the

Men. The temper, tone, and tactics of the Masters, have been throughout palpably lower than the Men's. Poor in means, poor in knowledge, poor in opportunity of acquiring it, poor in the externals of refinement, the working Men's advocacy has infinitely surpassed in moderation, in good sense, in good feeling, a body of wealthy capitalists, understood conventionally to be gentlemen. When two gentlemen go out on the deadly business of a duel, if one chooses to withdraw the ground of offence, the matter is considered to end. No case occurs in which one persists in shooting at his antagonist after he has avowed his intention of not returning the fire. Such a duellist would be hooted from all clubs as a savage. In shame be it written, such duellists are the gentlemen called the "Employers' Association." The men have withdrawn the Circular of offence, and submit. The masters refuse to leave the field, but persist in shooting down their disabled and helpless antagonists. Such an exhibition of brutality was never exhibited by a body of English gentlemen before. Montalembert horrified the Friends of Order in France by avowing that the "red republicans" shot at a respectable coat without caring whether the heart of a friend or a foe beat under it. What do our Friends of Order say at the spectacle of a body of British gentlemen avowing their intention to shoot at a poor man's tatters, without caring whether an empty stomach collapses under them—of making war not only upon his poverty and defencelessness, but upon his spirit. Are we to come to the conclusion that capitalists are the only "red republicans" among us? If this is the lesson gentlemen are to teach the working class, let it not be forgotten whom we shall have to thank if a sad day of reckoning shall come to be a matter of household hope among the poor.

Another instance of working-class good sense has occurred far away from the metropolis, under local influences entirely—I allude to Congleton. At a municipal election in that town, an address was issued from Zion School, (signed by Mr. David Hitchen, Chairman,) of a note-worthy character—so far, at least, as the spirit of the address adopted is considered. Laying down the maxim, that "Independent voting was a matter of right and conscience," it proceeded to reason with the working men, who in Congleton have municipal votes in considerable numbers; and with the employers who appeared disposed to intimidate them, as follows:—

"Warned by experience, we might say the disgraceful experience of the past—the experience of many working men being coerced or intimidated into voting contrary to their judgment, or injured afterwards in their employment in consequence of having acted independently—we are induced to offer you, (brother-workmen,) a few words of advice as to your conduct at the municipal election.

"Hurtful to all interests as must be all antagonism between workmen and their employers—regretting as we do the present instance of it—we yet plead that the cause of the antagonism does not originate with us. Having votes, to give them in purity and conscientiously, is a duty no less devolving on us than on those who have the good fortune to be above us. And whoever raises any impediment in the way of its just discharge strikes both at our duty and our character.

"At public-house meetings, recently held, men have been addressed by persons who have told them that at the election one of the candidates 'would see who were his real friends'—meaning that he would judge those to be his real friends who voted for him, and judge those to be his enemies who did not. With respect to other employers the same kind of vicious logic is used. If in respect to a parliamentary election language like this were employed, it would be deemed disreputable alike in those who employed it and in those who sanctioned it. Whether we are to believe that our employers sanction it we hardly know. Masters give us no guarantee that we shall be free, and also harmless, as to the course we may feel it to be our duty to pursue. At an interview which the ribbon weavers had, by deputation, with one employer, that gentleman indeed said, 'Vote as you please,' which might equally mean, 'Ruin yourself if you please,' or 'Put yourselves out of work if you please.' Had he said, 'Vote as you please, and I shall equally respect and employ you afterwards,' we could have understood, trusted, and respected such a declaration. Otherwise, we cannot forget, that though a master may not directly or avowedly discharge a man on account of his vote, he may do it indirectly, or may put him to such inconvenience in his work as shall compel him to discharge himself. We therefore seek the public protection, whose influence we

crave to convince our employers that though they have a right to the best industrial service of their workmen, they have no right to command the consciences of their workmen. If the operative burgess give, to the best of his judgment, his vote for the good of the municipal interest, he is the friend of the town; how then can he be the enemy of his employer? He is the 'real friend' of his employer who gives his vote conscientiously for the good of the town, because his master's interest and those of the town are the same. A workman, therefore, who votes for the public welfare, to the best of his judgment, cannot be the enemy of his employer unless his master is the enemy of the public or municipal good, which we suppose is not the case. Then it is plain that the well-meaning employer should be the friend of the well-intending workman who gives his vote conscientiously for the town's advantage.

"But beyond the question of truth and right there is that of personal character, which ought to influence the operative burgesses of Congleton. None are so ready to talk of the venality, cowardice, and want of public spirit of the working class as are those classes now taking part against us. Let us not give them the shadow of an occasion to do it! In Parliament, the tone of contempt with which the people are spoken of is too well known. When a demand is made for universal suffrage it is refused on the ground of the servile character of the working class, who, it is said, would be sure to abuse it or betray it; and none are so ready to accuse us as they who put impediments in the way of independent voting. First, they coerce us into dishonour and then reproach us for submitting to it. Therefore let the operative burgesses see how much depends upon their conduct: Let not the Congleton municipal election become an argument against the political rights of our fellow-countrymen. The discharge of our duty honourably, respectfully, but independently, is a question of personal character and public privilege, and the public ought to encourage us; and our employers ought to be gratified if we take an upright course."

The morality of the House of Commons, so occupied at this time with the Purity-of-Election Question, might be refreshed by the perusal of this address. There is perhaps no case in which any body of working men in the country have taken a more dispassionate view of their electoral duties, or argued them more respectfully towards their Employers.

Such cases elevate the character of the working class. If moral fitness is to become the sole test of electoral fitness, it will be the duty of the House of Commons to proceed in its next session to disenfranchise sundry bodies of gentlemen, metropolitan and provincial Employers Associations, and transfer the franchise to certain workmen, who in forbearance, good feeling, and good sense, are incontestably their betters. 10x.

CONSECRATED GROUND IN CITIES.

A CORRESPONDENT calls our attention to the renewed frequency of burials in the narrow slip of ground surrounding the church of St. Clement Danes; and complains, as he may well do, that during the whole of Sunday last, a grave was left open, and uncovered, thereby affording a vent for the poisonous vapours arising from the mass of corruption below the surface, and which might be recognised by persons entering or leaving the church.

Here we find the religious and venerable system of intramural interment still flourishing in the face of an Act of Parliament providing for its discontinuance.

"Dust to dust, ashes to ashes," amidst the jeers of cabmen, and the ribaldry of a staring rabble. Such is the daily spectacle, such the audience, presented to the gaze of English civilization in 1852. Such is one of our glorious institutions, naked to the admiration of foreign visitors. Our churches become charnel-houses, hideously gorged. And as to the "graves of our ancestors," no "ancestor" is sure of a week's repose, even in the grave!

EGLINTON TILTS AT THE PRESS.

LORD CLARENDON, true to his diplomatic instincts, subsidized—it would be improper to say the press—but a print with pretensions to outspoken journalism. Lord Eglinton adopts a straightforward and less expensive policy: he sets up an *index expurgatorius* for the Castle clerks. Far above buying up the support of a paper like the *World*, he expels a really honest and able journal, the *Northern Whig*, from the precincts of Dublin Castle, in the politest manner. To wit:—

Chief Secretary's Office, the Castle,
April 3, 1852.

"SIR,—I am to acquaint you that the *Northern Whig* newspaper is no longer required to be furnished to this office. You will, therefore, be good enough to stop it from this date.—Your obedient Servant,
"HENRY TOLLE."

Beyond the money value of the vice-regal subscription, the *Northern Whig* can lose nothing by this course; and, beyond the saving of that amount, the Lord-Lieutenant can gain nothing. But then, Tories are like bulls—they can gain nothing with shut eyes at their adversaries, and prefer running with shut eyes at their adversaries, and governing a country by ignoring, not estimating, opinion. No doubt, if the research were conducted in a proper spirit, it would be found that at the great Eglinton Tournament, the Viceroy of Ireland and the Dictator of France tilted not only with their visors down, but in visors without bars.

TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

MR. MILNER GIBSON has announced his intention of bringing the whole subject of the Taxes on Knowledge before the House at an early period. He should be strongly supported by petitions. This is made more imperative on the part of those who demand the repeal of the obnoxious imposts, by another announcement, to the effect, that the Board of Inland Revenue has resolved to renew the contest with the Proprietors of the *Household Narrative*, and to submit the question once more to judicial decision. Let there be no delay in sending in single, or collective, petitions.



Open Council.

[IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AS ALL OPINIONS, HOWEVER EXTREME, ARE ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR NONE.]

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON.

THE TRUE PEACE.

TO THORNTON HUNT, ESQ.

(Continued from last number.)

MY DEAR SIR,

If we have already achieved methods of determining differences between individuals and parties within our own country really preferable to the wild modes which used to prevail, why should we despair of establishing analogous means of determining the differences between them and those without? Why should nations not submit to the same rules as individuals, and bodies of individuals, do within them? Is it not a superior method, and more manly, too, for disputants to abide voluntarily by the decision of twelve—*or*, as is becoming more common day by day in mercantile transactions, of the majority of three—indifferent men as to what is right between them, than to go and fight about it? Why should not nations submit themselves to an analogous rule? You, indeed, appear to demur to the alleged advantages of this process, and attribute a kind of mystical virtue to the arbitration of the sword for settling what, it would seem, could not be settled by the other method—*viz.*, "one half the right." You say, "The arbitration of the sword, indeed, has one quality invaluable in all stages before we arrive at final truth; it leaves conviction untouched, and settles only the other half of right, which is might; and thus when the adherents of two opinions are conflicting, it determines which shall rule, without bondage to the conquered opinion." Do you seriously mean that to slash the souls out of each other, is really a preferable way of settling even the "might" of the case, than the use of the ballot-box, or other machinery, for determining the force (number) of bodies no less than that of brains ranged on either side?

But, admitting that the sword does, in a rude and barbarous way, determine (*pro tem.*) which of two parties shall rule; that it does so "without bondage to the conquered opinion," is, I think, an entirely gratuitous assertion. Experience seems to me to demonstrate quite the contrary. The first, most obvious, and, it must be added, most reasonable, course, universally pursued towards the vanquished, is to disarm them; to deny them their "right to arms," and, in every manner accordant with the character and culture of the people, to take precautions and securities against their rising again to renew the "settlement." The very condition of mercy is a *laying down of arms* on the part of the conquered; that is, a voluntary relinquishment of the means, according to you, of maintaining their rights, certainly of recovering their victory. If this condition be in any case waived, it is always under the pledge of honour, that the arms will not be used against the victors, and this is *never* conceded except to those in whose honour the conquerors can rely. In short, the bondage is, either that of absolute privation of rights (not often stopping with the right to arms), or

that of moral obligation; and in neither case are the rights allowed until the conquerors are satisfied that they may be allowed safely.

You seem to have had a consciousness of the weakness of your position here, for you immediately add, "If victory induce tyranny, it is because the faith of war is at a low standard," &c. But this is rather an adroit evasion of the point than a direct meeting of it. Its validity will turn upon what you mean by "tyranny." Is it tyranny to deny a man the means of destroying you? The war theory implies that he is actively *willing* the means of your destruction. If you cannot restrain him by one means, why should you be denied the use of other means? Do you not see that by direct and necessary sequence the deprivation of rights proceeds until his freedom is wholly suppressed? If this be tyranny, it is the necessary product of the war spirit. The adherent of the war theory cannot proceed a step in evasion of this result without an assumption of the grounds of his opponent. That it is not the invariable result, arises, not because the "faith of war" is at a high standard, but because the faith in man is at a higher standard than war implies; because it is discovered that, after all, we can trust our fellow-man, and that all we gained—all, at least, that we ought to have gained—might have been gained without war.

You erroneously say that I "assume that right and force must be opposed to each other." On the contrary, my assumption is, that where right is, there force (in its vulgar or popular acceptation) is unnecessary. You have never touched my positions.

You will see that the definition you give of "right" is not the definition of the "right" in the foregoing sentence; which is right in the sense of justice, not of *jus*. The introduction of the other "right" tends rather to a diversion from the point at issue between us. What I want is, to see your "right"—*i.e.* might and conviction—restrained within the limits of justice. It is not necessary to act as if this were attained, but merely as if it were possible of attainment. In this case, the spirit would be cultivated which "*makes for peace*," the chances of war reduced to a minimum, and the time hastened when war would be universally abhorred and abandoned. The progress of true civilization, which is, in essence, but the gradual subordination of force to law, would be quickened, until at length would be enthroned in the affections of the people that absolute right, which one cannot have to another's prejudice, but which comprehends the good of all.

The gravamen of my charge against you and the *Leader*, however, is not that you lack faith in what seems to me an obvious and necessary inference from the doctrine of "development." It is, that you manifest a more fatal want of belief—a positive disbelief, rather, and a concomitant *misbelief* more fatal still: a disbelief, to wit, of the doctrine that we in this country can get all desirable political ameliorations by the influence of thought and free speech—the force of opinion; a *misbelief* that these *may* be got by force of a more vulgar kind—the force of arms.

If this be stating the case too broadly, if you do not deny the sufficiency of the peaceable progress of this country, why advocate the arming of the people, with a view to the settlement of internal, no less than international, politics? Do you really believe that the questions agitated in this country would be more speedily, effectually, justly settled between us, by the instrumentality of the sword? Does your experience justify the notion, that there are more love of truth and righteousness, more self-control, more practical love of freedom, greater humanity and reverence for other's rights among the masses of the people, than among the governing classes? If not, on what ground would you arm them? Surely, not with a view to the sword "*making for peace*!" A wilder, a more delusive proposal, was never made to a people circumstanced as we are. The mere announcement of it is enough to alarm all who have anything to lose, and thus delay or frustrate all attempts at rational reform. A tendency to adopt it, is the very thing which a government and governing class, desirous of enslaving a people, or of withholding a people's rights, would, of all others, desire; the very thing which a government and governing class, desirous of the people's political and social amelioration, and ultimate emancipation from all disabilities, would most deplore. It is the very thing which affords continental despotism at this hour the pretext for keeping up its myriads of mercenaries, for the support of some kind of "law and order." It is the very thing that restrains governments, desirous of doing justice, and promoting their country's true progress, from diminishing their protective forces. Did I not know your heart to be wholly in the cause of human advancement, I should have been prone to say of the announcement of such a proposal, "an enemy must have done this." It is, in relation to the social and political condition of this country, precisely what the police-made barricades were to Paris in December last. That you, of all men, could seriously propose it!

But it were doing you injustice to confine the view to this side of your proposition. Your objection lies to the keeping up of a soldiery distinct from the people, and your recommendation contemplates the getting rid of a standing army altogether. In this half of your design, I decidedly concur. My opinion, however, as to the mode of accomplishing this, differs widely from yours. I believe that Mr. Cobden's plan, of mutual disarmament among the European powers, notwithstanding the ridicule it has met with from the pro-war party, has greater claims to acceptance. On the mere score of practicability his plan is, in my view, superior to yours. Preach the doctrine of rational reform to all peoples, *i.e.* the adjustment of the outer institution to the inner man—the reform of growth or development, not that of sudden eruptions and mechanical compressions—a reform to be accomplished by reason and affection, and therefore peaceably—and you take away fully one-half of the pretext governments have to keep up large standing forces. The proposal of mutual disarmament takes away the remainder: and this, I believe, is the mode really more safe, and hence likely to be more speedily successful. Independently of this, it

has the merit of throwing all peoples upon their reason and moral sense, for the determination of their differences. It cultivates the distinguishing faculties of man. Its tendency is to elevate, ennoble, enfranchise. The tendency of the opposite proposal, on the other hand, is just the reverse. It recognises an irrational biter: no wonder that its direct results should be, to sink the man and raise the beast.

You err in imputing it to me, that I speak "as if pain and death were worse evils than an enervated luxury, than the sufferings that peace tolerates," &c. If to you I have seemed to speak this way, be assured it has been only because you have not realized my point of view. I do not speak against the use of the sword merely because, as you justly say, I think it "cruel, unbrotherly, inhuman;" but also because I think it irrational, not in keeping with, but largely destructive of, its professed object. I give no quarter to the before-mentioned evils, any more than you; only I would see them uprooted by other means. My quarrel with you is, that your proposed means are not in harmony with your ends. I do not dread the sword; I despise it. But, quoth you, "has the sword never vindicated humanity?" In a subordinate sense I willingly concede that it has. But now, I think, humanity can be better vindicated without it, by weapons of more ethereal temper, and more conclusive power.

Your constant assumption is, that the advocates of peace have no regard for their liberties or the liberties of their country—as applied to the body, a flagrantly unfounded imputation. You have been singularly unfortunate in your intercourse with them, if you have any basis for it in individual members. I take leave to suggest that the spirit of that assembly of your countrymen which *shrunk* from an allusion to the subject of defending these liberties, might possibly be misapprehended by you. I repeat in distinct phrase what is implied throughout all my remarks, that it is not a difference of *object*, but a difference of *means*, which is between the adherents of the opposite policies of peace and war. I respect your objects, concur in them, am prepared to go myself, and to induce all others to go to every length in exertion for their accomplishment, within the limits of reason and absolute justice—within such limits as do not necessarily involve the voluntary infraction of the very rights for which we are contending. There is nothing save the integrity of his own soul which the true advocate of peace is not prepared to sacrifice. The loss of his life, if that issue must needs come, he can contemplate with at least as serene courage, and unshaken faith, as the bravest in the ranks of war. But, thus *peacefully* braved in the service of humanity, sacrifices of life, I feel persuaded, would be few. With the glorious Mazzini (glorious in my estimate, in spite of his agreement with you on this topic) I do profoundly believe in "the *might of devotion and self-sacrifice*." I believe there is a force in opinion and active human sentiment and volition, compared with which, for accomplishing the moral purposes of life, "the might which slumbers in the peasant's arm"—which also in its true relation I respect, revere—is inconsiderable and "poor indeed." This is the might which, in my opinion, you should seek to elicit, organize, and direct; not to the neglect or debasement of the other—for that, too, as has been said, is sacred and to be revered—but to its due subordination and beneficent control. To make the latter the *arbiter*, however, is to abdicate reason, to deny the force of truth in relation to human conviction, to doubt the capacity of man for the very things which melancholy—*with happy inconsistency of motive, though melancholy infelicity of means*—you are endeavouring to accomplish for him!

One point, of a personal character remains, upon which a word. I owe it to you, to the individuals referred to, and to my own positions, to relieve you of a doubt which you expressed, as to the views against which the members of the Peace movement set themselves. The views to which I referred were those of ignorance, drunkenness, improvidence, filth, national extravagance, and so forth; and the individuals then present to my thought as distinguished by their sacrifices, personal and pecuniary, are so in aid of the Financial Reform, the Sanatory, the Temperance, the Educational, and other movements, having for their objects the subjugation of such vices, and the introduction of intelligence, superior habits, a higher class of amusements, and so forth, among the people. In these efforts they exhibit none of that "*straight-laced virtue*" to which you allude, and which is entirely opposed to their natures, but as much generosity and tolerance as are compatible with an earnest endeavour to overcome the evil with the good. You and the *Leader* do the active Peace Party the constant injustice of confounding its members with the ignoble and selfish, who desire peace only because it serves the purposes of trade; and Mrs. Barrett Browning is quoted to countenance the implication that their peace is the "accomplishment" of "gibbets," "dungeons," "chain-bolts," "starving homes," and all the other evils which the genius of that lady knows so well how to marshal together. To such implications as these I have simply to reply, that the facts are not so. These things themselves are the products, not of the peace, but of the war policy, either in its overt, or in its covert, manifestations; and therefore the responsibility for them recoils and rests upon such as you, and not upon them. They do not, any more than you or Mrs. Barrett Browning, nurse that false

"Peace, that sits
Beside the hearth in self-commended mood,
And takes no thought how wind and rain, by fits,
Are howling out of doors against the good
Of the poor wanderer."

They, like her and you.

"Love no peace which is not fellowship,
And which includes not mercy."

Which party pursues it by the noblest and most effectual means?

"That is the question!"

I am, dear sir, yours very truly,

Liverpool, 29th March, 1852.

A. L.

Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

THE bookselling controversy has been active this week; and on Wednesday there was a large meeting at Lord Campbell's house, where the advocates of Protection had their say, and showed the shallowness of their views. This question ought not to be disregarded by men of letters, for it involves their interests and the interests of literature. Unhappily our public press, with a few honourable exceptions, is notoriously and disgracefully so dependent on advertisements, that the advocacy will be certain to preponderate in favour of Protection—the great advertising houses being the Protectionists. The *Times* is against the Protectionists; MACAULAY is against them, CARLYLE is against them, HALLAM is against them, GLADSTONE is against them, and one may say that the whole body of authors is against them; but they have "columns of advertisements" which, like the lips of ANACREON's mistress, are flowing with persuasion; and against these we know of but one remedy—a public meeting of authors.

Mr. MURRAY advances the fact of the present system being a century old, and rendered authoritative by the approbation of JOHNSON, as an argument for its continuance; and a very potent argument it would be were it not suicidal! Observe: if the discount allowed to retail booksellers sufficed a century ago, when books were considerably fewer, and when all the cost of carriage, postage, &c. was immeasurably greater, surely every one can see that it must be too large a discount now when publications are ten times more numerous, and the cost of transmission so very much reduced. A writer in the *Times* places the question in all its nakedness when he says, that while the cost of producing a work is 60 per cent, the cost of portage on the present system is 40 per cent.

It is gratifying to note the advance of tolerant principles, although the advance is slower than it would be, if the advocates of toleration would themselves be more tolerant. When heterodoxy calls orthodoxy "bigoted fanaticism," orthodoxy is ready with its retort of "infidel corruption." Hard names are no arguments, and contempt is a bad vehicle for persuasion. It is somewhat strange, that men who have themselves been once believers, are found accusing believers of unworthy motives! But the world is ripening, and its crudities gradually soften down. Toleration on all sides is becoming a living principle. In Stockholm, we observe in a new periodical, the *Nordisk Tidskrift*, there is an article on "Freedom and Religion," advocating the abrogation of the present stringent laws against freedom of conscience; and the article is timely, for the peasants of Dalecarlia are rising up against the clergy, declaring they have no authority to preach. At Birmingham, the working-men have opened a Hall of Progress, for the free discussion of opinions, wherein "enemies are invited to come and oppose, friends are invited to come and assist." JOHANNES RONGE, resident in England, announces, as in preparation, a new work, to be published by subscription, on *The Reformation of the Nineteenth Century, or the Religion of Humanity*,—a fine subject, tasking the highest powers. Meanwhile, the Restorer of Order, the pet of the Jesuits, LOUIS NAPOLEON, has at last deprived MICHELET, QUINET, and MICKIEWICZ of their professorships, which will be given to those who love "the family" with a purer love.

German literature, which already owes so much to the brothers GRIMM, has commenced the publication of a German Dictionary, which will be a history of the German language since LUTHER, as well as a dictionary. Every important word having reference to history, legislation, &c., is to be followed historically in its developments and applications. The idea is excellent; it is the principle of that admirable dictionary to which Richardson devoted his life; but some English philologist might be persuaded to adopt it in the extended form newly given to it. This scheme was too gigantic for the unaided researches of the brothers GRIMM, who, therefore, addressed themselves to a vast variety of learned correspondents, begging them to read such or such an author, with a view to certain words. Imagine the result of such an invitation to Germans! Boxes, carpet-bags, portmanteaus of MSS. arrived!—a chaos of erudition, which the editors had to fashion into a Cosmos: six months of labour,—and German labour, recollect—were required, before the two brothers could even arrange these fragments alphabetically, and after that, they had to classify and to select! The editors of our *Notes and Queries* might usefully occupy their archæological friends in some such undertaking.

THE RESTORATION OF BELIEF.

The Restoration of Belief. No. I. Christianity in Relation to its Ancient and Modern Antagonists. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co.

SOME weeks ago we announced a series of Essays to be published for the conversion to Christianity of those who denied, and those who wavered. To restore belief is, as we often say, the fundamental necessity of this age—"an age destitute of faith, yet terrified at scepticism." A belief society must have, and the question is a momentous one,—What is to be the creed of Christendom? Our essayist, like many others, believes that Christianity can be restored; so do young Englanders believe in the restoration of mediæval tastes and institutions, forgetting that, as Goethe says, whatever dies deserves to die—

Denn alles das entsteht
Ist werth dass es zu Grunde geht.

Here, at the outset, we part company. Our object is the same as his, our routes divergent. Before indicating, however, the profound differences which separate us, let us express the unfeigned respect inspired by the dignified liberality of his tone, the breadth of his purpose, and the beauty and the *targo* of his style. Such an adversary piques all our courtesy. Polemics with such men become a passage of arms. Blows are given, and blood may be drawn, but the arena is undisgraced by brutal passions or ignoble struggles.

The essayist sees distinctly enough how urgent and inevitable is the confluence of all streams of thought into one doctrine, and he expresses that conviction in a passage which Auguste Comte himself would accept—

"It is natural and inevitable that this urgent feeling should drive men in from the surface of all subjects, and compel them to dig, and still to dig, until, from all sides, they have come to encounter each other, working in the same shafts, and pursuing the same seams and veins of thought. From these underground encounters, startling as they are when they bring those who beneath the upper sky are declared adversaries, face to face in the mine, and so near to the very pith of the world, will lead (so I must profess to think) to a common understanding, to a belief generally, if not universally assented to, and to a CONCLUSION, once for all arrived at, and which thenceforward will, with its inferences, be brought to bear upon every practical question that can be thought to stand related to it in morals, politics, and education, as well as Religion.

"We have not, however, as yet, advanced quite abreast on the two highroads of Philosophy—the physical and the intellectual (or moral and religious); for on the former a rule is well understood and is universally obeyed, which on the latter is but dimly seen, or is perpetually broken.

"What I mean is this—that in all departments of the physical sciences, both abstract and applicative, and on all fields of accumulated industry—natural history, for instance—every one, every inquirer, every reasoner, every collector of facts, is left to pursue his path in his own mode, and is held to be exempt from all interference on the part of others; as if what one had learned, or was teaching, could supersede, or might interdict the inquiries of another. Although, in the issue, there will be ONE PHILOSOPHY, and although there should be fellowship among the labourers, none are to put bars across the paths of their companions. This sort of jealousy, as it would be groundless, so must it be fruitless in the end; and meantime it would be mischievous. Nothing of this sort is ever thought of, or attempted, in the world of physical science.

"So much as this cannot be alleged in behalf of those branches of philosophy and of learning which touch human nature at the core. On this ground attempts are often made to intercept the progress of inquiry in some one direction, as if it might disturb what has been ascertained on another. Too often—and we are all more or less in fault—we carry inferences over from one field to another; or, we are in too great haste so to do; for undoubtedly, in the end, all inferences, all deductions, will interlace and join on one to another."

The question now arises,—What is to be the doctrine? Not Christianity, because it is confessedly incapable of solving scientific problems, so that if the domain of morals were left to it undisturbed, the immense discrepancies between its teachings and those of science must remain. The irresistible force of science is drawn from its *certitude*. It advances because men see it daily answering their questions with definite and demonstrable answers. Our author has admirably expressed this:—

"In any case when that which on any ground of proof takes full hold of the understanding, (such, for example, are the most certain of the conclusions of Geology,) stands contiguous to that which, in a logical sense, is of inferior quality, and is indeterminate, and fluctuating, and liable to retrogression,—in any such case there is always going on a silent encroachment of the more solid mass upon the ground of that which is less solid. What is SURE will be pressing upon what is uncertain, whether or not the two are designedly brought into collision or comparison. What is well defined weighs upon, and against, what is ill defined. Nothing stops the continuous involuntary operation of SCIENCE, in dislodging OPINION from the minds of those who are conversant with both.

"A very small matter that is indeed determinate, will be able to keep a place for itself against this incessantly encroaching movement; but nothing else can do so. As to any of those theosophic fancies, which we may wish to cling to, after we have thrown away the Bible, we might as well suppose that they will resist the impact of the Mathematical and Physical Sciences, as imagine that the lichens of an Alpine gorge will stay the slow descent of a glacier.

"It is not that these Demonstrable Sciences are likely to be brought *designedly* into antagonism with the theosophies of Disbelief. But instead of this, these sciences are now coming down, in one compact mass, upon all varieties of *mere opinion*: without noise are they coming, yet certainly, to raze them from the soil where they grow. Travelling in its might, this solid mass will scrape the surface over which it travels quite bare. Nor is it merely the Mathematical and Physical Sciences that in this manner are edging opinion out of the intellectual world; for in the train of these come the Statistical, the Economic, and the Political sciences, which every day are assuming a more positive tone than heretofore, and are more articulate than any Religious opinions can be, unless sustained by evidence of the most conclusive sort. Deductions that are indisputable—principles that have a near bearing upon the palpable welfare of the community, not less than the higher truths of philosophy, tend to disengage the mind from whatever does not possess equal or similar recommendations. Men sicken of endless surmises, of guesses, of aspirations, of impressions, of vague hopes. Now it is manifest that the Religious Disbelief which is at this time offered to us in the stead of Christianity, neither does, nor can, in the nature of things, take possession of solid ground whereupon it might establish and fortify itself. At the very best it is only a pleasing possibility, or a probability,—a something better than nothing. Itself, from a consciousness of its own slenderness, will be glad to slip away, unnoticed, from the halls of science."

The incalculable power of early association, and the extraordinary way in which doctrines root themselves in the mind, like parasitic insects feeding on the life in which they live, are curiously illustrated in men like our author, men with rare powers, with cultured habits of thought, and with keen perceptions, who nevertheless cannot see the incongruity of their own positions. Here is one forcibly stating why Science must

inevitably displace Opinion, and yet disclaiming its power over *his* opinion, declaring your creed to be a "mere opinion," whereas his creed must be accepted as demonstrable truth.

"It is an illusion to imagine that any scheme of religious belief can now maintain itself in the minds of instructed men, under the enormous pressure of the compact mass of our modern sciences. A most misjudging course, therefore, have those writers adopted who, of late, have threatened Christianity with extinction, which they say is to be effected by the hand of the Physical sciences! Do they not see that there is a victim that stands first to be immolated—to wit, their own baseless theology?"

"But why may not Christianity itself share this same fate? Is it not itself an opinion? This will be the end of every one of those modifications of Christianity which have been devised for the purpose of escaping from its extreme consequences, or of mitigating its supposed severity, or of winning the favour of those who reject it. These varieties of what we must call an abated Christianity, are opinions only; and they entirely lack intelligible evidence, as well as substance and motive force: they stir no affections; they fix no resolves; they breathe no such energy into the souls of men as should strengthen them in a course of *real* sufferings for the Truth's sake.

"What is it then that may, and that *will*, hold its ground against the ever-increasing momentum of our modern philosophy? It is that CHRISTIANITY, whole and entire, which, filling as it did the mind and the heart of the EARLY CHURCH, carried it through its day of trial."

Now, we call upon him to accept combat in the field chosen by himself; we throw down the gauntlet, and these are our words of defiance:—You have declared that what is certain must, from the nature of things, displace all that is vague, that Science in its progress must trample down Opinion; and you have thereby declared that Christianity rests on *certain* foundations (therefore *implicit* that it is Demonstrable), and cannot be set aside as opinion. Prove this declaration, and the victory is won; prove Christianity to rest upon demonstrable certitude, and not on "opinion," then is your cause gained!

Indeed, throughout this eloquent and interesting Essay, the preliminary assumption of the very point in dispute renders all its argument useless when addressed to those who will not grant the assumption; and the series ought certainly to have commenced with a distinct announcement of the evidence on which the whole rests. It is of no avail to say, as so many iterate, that the objections urged against Scriptures are all substantially the same as those which Origen and the early Apologists encountered and refuted. We have read Origen, and declare the assertion preposterous; nay, its want of probability may be inferred from this one indubitable fact, viz., our scientific and moral conceptions are so widely divergent from those prevalent in the time of the Christian fathers, that the objections we draw from the discrepancy of those conceptions with scriptural conceptions *must* necessarily be unlike the objections *there* made and refuted. Moreover, if Origen and others have "refuted" objectors, may we not also say that the Apologists themselves have been often "refuted"? This one-sided view of two-sided questions we see illustrated again in the following passage:—

"It is much to be wished that those who at this moment are assailing Religious Belief, would deny themselves the poor and cheap gratification, in which they almost all of them give themselves free leave to indulge, that of calling the adherents and advocates of Belief—'fanatics.'"

"And yet, perhaps, this seemingly arrogant practice should be pardoned in those guilty of it, inasmuch as it does not necessarily spring from an intolerant temper, or personal malignity; but comes only from the felt necessity of the position in which those, on that side, have placed themselves: for if indeed those whose belief these writers assail are not 'fanatics'; if, on the contrary, they, or many of them, are as well informed and as highly cultured and as capable of reasoning as themselves, if they are equally serious and honest, and in a word, are every way as 'good men,' and all the while are BELIEVERS, then is Belief proved to be reasonable; for reasonable men profess it, and the contrary assumption falls to the ground; then is Belief that conclusion which will be accepted and rested in, after full inquiry, by the great majority of minds in a sound state."

Let but the word "fanatics" be replaced by "infidels," and the word "believers" replaced by "non-believers," and this passage will be as applicable to the one class as to the other; and we should see heterodoxy proved to be true by orthodox logic!

We look forward to the continuation of the series with interest, and meanwhile heartily commend this Essay to our readers.

ADAM GRÈME OF MOSSGRAY.

Memoirs and Resolutions of Adam Grème of Mossgray, including some Chronicles of the Borough of Fendie. In 3 vols. Colburn & Co.

No reader of *Margaret Maitland of Sunnyside*, or of *Merkland*, can forget the admirable talent of the authoress. We have been loud enough in its praise to be permitted an expression of regret at finding that talent making no advances through experience. Her third novel is worse than her first. Not only so, but its sins are greater in that very quarter where practice should have effaced them. She may not be able to master *l'art de conter*; that is a talent some never acquire; but practice in the art of novel-writing should have made her avoid the great mistakes of *Adam Grème*.

We will be frank with her. Beautiful as many passages are, with the beauty of a tender melancholy soul brooding over the vanished past, seductive as the mere style often is, her book failed to lure us through it to the end. And the secret of the failure, as far as we understand it, is this: Neither in the substance nor in the form has *Adam Grème* the first conditions of art.

To write a novel is something more than to fill three volumes. The author has this obligation imposed, that he must either embody in fiction some actual experience of life, or must have an interesting story to tell. Wherefore pile Pelion on Ossa in Great Marlborough-street, when both Pelion and Ossa are of the common stones with which we macadamize our roads? Wherefore this incessant winnowing of the old chaff? Wherefore three volumes that are not *new*? If any writer has seen, or thought, or suffered—if life, in any of its myriad aspects, has to him presented a

new revelation, be it merely a bit of character, by all means let us have it; and let us have it as *he sees it*, not as it has been seen for years in Great Marlborough-street. If not, then let him be silent. There is no hurtfulness in silence. Writing is not a necessity; rather let us say the mere itch of writing (*cacoëthes* it is named) is rather symptomatic of disease than of health.

A reading public and a greedy public will welcome with applause any good story, or any real bit of life, first known in actual experience, and thence translated into fiction. But no public will give more than a languid hour to a novel deficient in both these qualities; and thus deficient we must pronounce *Adam Grème*. We must say it without softening the sentence, for the authoress might assuredly achieve a fine novel, if she would sternly impose upon herself the conditions; and it is a pity to see such remarkable faculties thrown away upon works that will not even become a nine-days' wonder. Let her distinctly ask herself, "What is it I am about to set forth in this my new novel?"—and then let her rigorously examine that purpose as to its truth and her experience of it. Having thus settled the idea of her book, and selected the characters that are to embody it, let her plan the story—construct it as she would the skeleton of a house—and when once that is done, she need be under no disquietude as to the furniture.

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

The Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Poets, Philosophers, Statesmen, Divines, Artists, Physicians, Lawyers, &c. With Biographies. Originally published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Parts III. and IV. W. S. Orr and Co.

The third and fourth parts of Messrs. Orr's republication of the Portrait Gallery, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge, contain severally, Titian, Luther, Raphael, Cortez, Raimondi, Crammer, Loyola and Correggio, Melancthon, Charles V., Knox, L'Hopital, Buchanan, Paré. As each part is complete in itself, we specify the contents.

The Solar System; or, the Sun, Moon, and Planets. By J. R. Hind.

W. S. Orr and Co.

A SMALL volume, published in the series of *Readings in Popular Science*, by the foreign secretary of the Royal Astronomical Society, is assuredly well worth its shilling; but although to those familiar with astronomical works, it will be very useful for its account of the recent discoveries, and for its "latest intelligence" from the heavens, yet it wants the art and clearness requisite in works so professedly "popular." It is a book for students, not for tyros.

The Night Side of Nature. By Catherine Crowe. (Railway Library.) In two vols. George Routledge and Co.

MRS. CROWE'S interesting collection of Ghost Stories, theories of Apparitions, and other terrors of the *Night Side of Nature* deserved reprinting, and we venture to predict that the present cheap reprint will be extremely popular. During the winter it will be invaluable! What stories to relate over the evening fire, as the cinders drop with ghostly sound on to the hearth! What "night-caps" for imaginative and nervous young gentlemen and ladies!

Panorama of Saint Petersburg. By J. G. Kohl. (The Book-Case.)

Sims and McIntyre.

THE second volume of the *Book-case* contains Kohl's lively and irresistible picture of *St. Petersburg*, a pleasant variety after Kelly's ramble *Across the Rocky Mountains*. We must say that the extra elegance of this series warrants the extra sixpence; and we believe if somewhat less matter were given, in somewhat larger type (or the same type leaded), the public would appreciate the change, and purchase more largely. It is one of the paradoxes of our railway literature, that almost all the books are printed in a type which renders them unreadable on the rail!

On Legislative Expression. By George Coode.

The Daltons; or, Three Roads in Life. By Charles Lever.

Truths Illustrated by Great Authors.

Devotions for the Daughters of Israel. By M. N. Bresslaw.

Physiology applied to Health and Education. By Andrew Combe.

Encyclopædia Metropolitana. By S. T. Coleridge.

The Illustrated London Cookery Book. By F. Bishop.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine.

On the Past and Present State of Intramural Burying Places. By G. A. Walker.

History of Physical Astronomy, from the Earliest Ages. By Robert Grant, F.R.A.S.

Robert Baldwin.

Portfolia.

We should do our utmost to encourage the Beautiful, for the Useful encourages itself.—GÖETHE.

COMTE'S POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY.*

By G. H. LEWES.

PART III.—What is Philosophy?

We shall find some obscurities cleared up, if we can master an accurate and comprehensive definition of philosophy. The definition I have finally settled upon is this:—*Philosophy is the Explanation of the Phenomena of the Universe.* By the term Explanation, the subject is restricted to the domain of the Intellect, and is thereby demarcated from Religion, though not from Theology: a reservation which will be more fully appreciated,

* My appeal to generously disposed readers, in favour of a subscription for M. Comte left destitute by the French Government, has, I fear, been forgotten. Only three have responded; but M. Comte will be highly gratified to learn that, of the three first respondents, two were *working-men*,—(John Ivory and Charles Clements),—who forwarded two shillings in postage-stamps,—a sum to be valued, as was the widow's mite; and the third, W. E. B., who, in a noble letter addressed to me, says:—"I belong to the working-class, and am not very able to assist. I can only send herewith a sovereign, and feel how little I look in doing so. If those who can and ought do not send adequately to your views, pray say in the *Leader*, (I take it regularly,) W. E. B.—and, and I will manage to send more." There are generous ways of being generous, and that is one!

when I come to treat of Religion. The definition not only seems to me a plain expression of the actual nature of Philosophy, but thereby serves to rid us of the perplexities arising from the opposition between Metaphysics and Science, which are thus shown to be nothing more than different methods of reaching the same end. To wrest its secret from the Universe, and to understand our relations to external Nature and to Man, is equally the object of Metaphysical as of Positive inquiry; but the Metaphysician believes he can penetrate into the *causes* and *essences* of the phenomena around him, while the Positivist, recognising his incompetency, limits his efforts to the ascertainment of the *laws* which regulate the succession of these phenomena.

Philosophy is inherent in man's nature. It is not a caprice, it is not a plaything, it is a necessity; for our life is a mystery, surrounded with mysteries: we are encompassed by wonder. The myriad aspects of Nature without, the strange fluctuations of feeling within, all demand from us an explanation. Standing upon this ball of earth, so infinite to us, so trivial in the infinitude of the Universe, we look forth into nature with reverent awe, with irrepressible curiosity. We must have explanations. And thus it is that philosophy, in some rude shape, is a visible effort in every condition of the history of man,—in the rudest phase of half-developed capacity, as in the highest conditions of culture: it is found among the sugar-canes of the West Indies, and in the tangled pathless forests of America. Take man where you will—hunting the buffalo on the prairies, or immovable in meditation on the hot banks of the Ganges, priest or peasant, soldier or student, man never escapes from the pressure of the burden of that mystery which forces him to seek, and readily to accept, some explanation of it. The savage, startled by the muttering of distant thunder, asks, "What is that?" and is restless till he knows, or fancies he knows. If told it is the voice of a wrathful demon, that is enough: the explanation is given. If he then be told that to propitiate the demon the sacrifice of some human being is necessary, his slave, his enemy, his friend, perhaps, even, his child, falls a victim to the credulous terror. The childhood of man enables us to retrace the infancy of nations. No one can live with children without being struck by their restless questioning, and unquenchable desire to have everything explained, no less than by the facility with which every authoritative assertion is accepted as an explanation. The History of Philosophy is the story of man's successive attempts to explain the phenomena around and within him.

The first explanations were naturally enough drawn from analogies, afforded by consciousness. Men saw around them activity, change, force; they felt within them a mysterious power, which made them active, changing, potent: they explained what they saw, by what they felt. Hence the fetishism of barbarians, the mythologies of more advanced races. Oreads and Nymphs, Demons and Beneficent Powers, moved among the ceaseless activities of Nature. Man knows that in his anger he storms, shouts, destroys: what, then, is thunder but the anger of some mighty invisible being? Moreover, man knows that a *present* will assuage his anger against an enemy, and it is but natural he should believe the offended thunderer will also be appeased by some offering. As soon as another conception of the nature of thunder has been elaborated by observation and study of its phenomena, the supposed deity vanishes, and, with it, all the false conceptions it originated, till, at last, Science takes a rod, and draws the terrible lightning from the heavens, rendering it so harmless that it will not tear away a spider's web!

But long centuries of patient observation and impatient guessing, controlled by logic, were necessary, before such changes could take place. The development of Philosophy, like the development of organic life, has been through the slow additions of thousands upon thousands of years; for Humanity is a growth, as our globe is, and the laws of its growth are still to be discovered.

One of the great fundamental laws has been discovered by Auguste Comte. Before proceeding to expound it, however, it may not be out of place to inquire whether any law of intellectual evolution can be regarded as a fitting exponent of the evolution of Humanity,—in other words, whether the various conditions of social existence are dependent on, and correspond with, conditions of scientific development? This has been so luminously stated by John Stuart Mill, in the sixth book of his *Logic*, that I shall borrow the whole passage.

"In order to obtain better empirical laws, we must not rest satisfied with noting the progressive changes which manifest themselves in the separate elements of society, and in which nothing is indicated but the relation of the fragments of the effect to corresponding fragments of the cause. It is necessary to combine the statical view of social phenomena with the dynamical, considering not only the progressive changes of the different elements, but the contemporaneous condition of each; and thus obtain empirically the law of correspondence not only between the simultaneous states, but between the simultaneous changes, of those elements. This law of correspondence it is, which, after being duly verified *a priori*, will become the real scientific derivative law of the development of humanity and human affairs.

"In the difficult process of observation and comparison which is here required, it would evidently be a very great assistance if it should happen to be the fact, that some one element in the complex existence of social man is pre-eminent over all others as the prime agent of the social movement. For we could then take the progress of that one element as the central chain, to each successive link of which, the corresponding links of all the other progressions being appended, the succession of the facts would by this alone be presented in a kind of spontaneous

order, far more nearly approaching to the real order of their filiation than could be obtained by any other merely empirical progress.

"Now, the evidence of history and the evidence of human nature combine, by a most striking instance of consilience, to show that there really is one social element which is thus predominant, and almost paramount, among the agents of the social progression. This is, the state of the speculative faculties of mankind; including the nature of the speculative beliefs which by any means they have arrived at, concerning themselves and the world by which they are surrounded.

"It would be a great error, and one very little likely to be committed, to name that speculation, intellectual activity, the pursuit of truth, is among the most powerful propensities of human nature, or fills a large place in the lives of any, were decidedly exceptional individuals. But notwithstanding the relative weakness of this principle among other sociological agents, its influence is the main determining cause of the social progress; all the other dispositions of our nature which contribute to that progress, being dependent upon it for the means of accomplishing their share of the work. Thus (to take the most obvious case first,) the impelling force to most of the improvements effected in the arts of life, is the desire of increased material comfort; but as we can only act upon external objects in proportion to our knowledge of them, the state of knowledge at any time is the impassable limit of the industrial improvements possible at that time; and the progress of industry must follow, and depend upon, the progress of knowledge. The same thing may be shown to be truth, though it is not quite so obvious, of the progress of the fine arts. Further, as the strongest propensities of human nature (being the purely selfish ones, and those of a sympathetic character which partake most of the nature of selfishness) evidently tend in themselves to disunite mankind, not to unite them,—to make them rivals, not confederates; social existence is only possible by a disciplining of those more powerful propensities, which consists in subordinating them to a common system of opinions. The degree of this subordination is the measure of the completeness of the social union, and the nature of the common opinions determines its kind. But in order that mankind should conform their actions to any set of opinions, these opinions must exist, must be believed by them. And thus, the state of the speculative faculties, the character of the propositions assented to by the intellect, essentially determines the moral and political state of the community, as we have already seen that it determines the physical.

"These conclusions, deduced from the laws of human nature, are in entire accordance with the general facts of history. Every considerable change historically known to us in the condition of any portion of mankind, has been preceded by a change, of proportional extent, in the state of their knowledge, or in their prevalent beliefs. As between any given state of speculation, and the correlative state of everything else, it was almost always the former which first showed itself; though the effects, no doubt, reacted potently upon the cause. Every considerable advance in material civilization has been preceded by an advance in knowledge; and when any great social change has come to pass, a great change in the opinions and modes of thinking of society had taken place shortly before. Polytheism, Judaism, Christianity, Protestantism, the negative philosophy of modern Europe, and its positive science—each of these has been a primary agent in making society what it was at each successive period, while society was but secondarily instrumental in making *them*, each of them (so far as causes can be assigned for its existence) being mainly an emanation not from the practical life of the period, but from the state of belief and thought during some time previous. The weakness of the speculative propensity has not, therefore, prevented the progress of speculation from governing that of society at large; it has only, and too often, prevented progress altogether, where the intellectual progression has come to an early stand for want of sufficiently favourable circumstances.

"From this accumulated evidence, we are justified in concluding, that the order of human progression in all respects will be a corollary deducible from the order of progression in the intellectual convictions of mankind, that is, from the law of the successive transformations of religion and science."

Assuming it proved, as history will warrant, that the evolutions of Humanity correspond with the evolutions of Thought—that Science is the torch whereby we see our way—the importance of the fundamental law discovered by Comte cannot easily be exaggerated. It is to Social Science what Newton's great discovery was to Physics. To make the reader fairly master its significance I will, in my next paper, illustrate the law by familiar examples; but as more space would be needed than can here be afforded, I will close this article with a digression on the subject of atheism, which a writer in the *Times* this week, following many others, attributes to Comte. It is a mistake. Comte certainly, by more than one passage, leads an incautious reader, dipping here and there, to suppose him an atheist; but I cannot believe any truthful-minded man could read Comte's works with that attention all serious works demand, and not be strongly impressed by the forcible and scornful rejection of atheism so often there recurring. He regards atheism as the dregs of the metaphysical period, and his scorn for metaphysics is incessant. I will, however, translate a passage from his *Discourse on the Ensemble of Positivism*, which, to all who know his unequivocal outspokenness, will be sufficient:—

"Although I have long formally rejected all solidarity—dogmatic no less than historic—between positivism and what is called atheism, I will here indicate a few summary points of view. Even considered under the purely intellectual aspect, atheism only constitutes a very imperfect emancipation, since it tends to prolong indefinitely the metaphysical stage by its ceaseless pursuit of new solutions of theological problems, instead of pushing aside all such problems as essentially inaccessible. The true positive spirit consists in always substituting the study of *laws* to that of *causes*—the *how* to the *why*. It is, therefore, incompatible with the ambitious dreams of a misty atheism relative to the formation of the universe, the origin of animals, &c. Positivism, in its appreciation of our diverse stages of speculation, does not hesitate to declare these doctrinal chimæras very inferior—even in rationality—to the spontaneous beliefs of mankind. For the principle of all theology consisting in explaining phenomena by the intervention of a *will*, it can only be set aside by the recognition of the truth that *causes* are inaccessible, and by the study of the *laws*. So long

as we persist in solving the problems of our infancy, it is idle to reject the naive method which our young imagination applied to them, and which alone suit their nature. . . . *Atheists may therefore be regarded as the most inconsequent of theologians*, since they attempt the same problems while rejecting the only suitable method."

That passage is surely explicit enough, if nothing else. I quoted it, less to remove a misconception current in England, than to anticipate the objection of those who, reading in the *Times* and elsewhere that Comte is an atheist, would ask me what I meant by saying he aspired to the character of founder of a new Religion. That done, I may now address myself to the consideration of his Fundamental Law of Human Evolution.

THE LAST DAY.

One day, my darling lake beside,
In a low reedy marsh I walkt,
When swans, like snowy shadows glide,
And as with wildering thoughts I talkt,
With scornful wail the swans replied.
It was a dull still afternoon,
No human voice was in the air,
Nor warbled note nor whistled tune,
Nor shout of one that hath no care,
From sunrise till eve's mellow moon.
The reeds stood round me, stiff and lank,
The green-gold beetle on a stone
Lay motionless, and rank on rank,
Red hips and ruby berries shone,
Yet shook not on their mossy bank.
The elm trees crost their arms of green,
And stood erect, like men resigned
To see what never should be seen,
And bear their fate with equal mind,
Both what will be, and what hath been.
There were no shadows in the grass,
No spots of brightness near the trees,
No birds to pass me or repass;
There was no motion, was no breeze:
All lifeless stretcht the whole morass.
Dense, grey, and sullen o'er me spread
The low near level of the sky,
No cloud was sailing overhead;
But here and there I saw on high,
Blue breaks, yet blue of greenish dye.
There was a smell of mild decay,
Of withering fragrance, mouldering wood,
But how or whence it came that way
I know not; in my strange wild mood
I did not know the hour of day.
To me it seemed there were no hours,
Was neither After nor Before,
Were neither men nor heavenly powers,
And never would be any more,
That God was dead, and all was o'er.
It was the last, last day I thought,
Here ended all our bliss and pain,
What God and man had wrought was wrought,
And nothing could be changed again,
Nothing be either lost or sought.
All is eternal now, I said.
The swans will ever wail and scream,
The flat grey sky still o'er me spread;
And life, one fixed and endless dream,
Shall bring no change to heart or head.

M.

The Arts.

VIVIAN AT THE EASTER PIECES.

CHRISTMAS and EASTER are two terrible periods in my existence, simply from the surfeit of dramatic attraction. Consider! I have but one pair of eyes, and there are but four evenings in the week available. Now, if you have "worked with your pencil and slate, Master Thomas," you can calculate the possibility of my seeing ten or eleven Easter pieces, not to mention operas and French plays, in four nights! I have to make a choice, and that is invidious, so that, on the whole, I find myself not going anywhere. My favourite theatre, the LYCEUM, terrified me by announcing a dramatic story in eight acts. In eight acts! why not in eighty? I couldn't in cold blood be asked to assist at *that*, until I knew whether the eight acts were amusing; and as the authorship was whispered to be claimed by my intimate enemy, Slingsby Lawrence, I preferred sending either my *critique blond*, the Screech Owl (*Le Chat-Huant*), or the majestic Z; because, if I abused the piece, it would be supposed that I was moved by "personal motives." By the way, how strange it is that one is never abused by a critic, but one always knows "the motive!" No work is abused on account of its badness, but on account of the "envy,"

or "enmity," of the critic! Talking of critics, there was a passage in one of the daily papers which made me almost burn my pen, and quit the profession in despair: it was the *ut de poitrine* of our art! The writer had to mention the performance of the *Merchant of Venice*, at the OLYMPIC, and this brilliant phrase escaped him—"This play (like most of the works of this gifted author) is too well known to need any lengthened criticism." Shakspeare has come to this complexion at last! He is a "gifted author!" a "talented dramatist," perhaps? O swan! O bard of Avon! O great Williams! (that phrase belongs to Eugène Sue), how your Shade must tremble with delight as it glides through the world of Hades, and catches faint echoes of our chorus of admiration, a chorus with climbing crescendo bursting into the "gifted author!" After reading that passage, I felt that criticism must become tame and spiritless in comparison: and instead of harassing my brain by vain efforts to achieve new combinations in our beautiful language, I had immediate recourse to my Christian Fathers, and in their vellum folios found a solace and a *bon mot*, which, if it were not in Greek, I would quote.

You see how I "dally with the faint surmise," and shrink from coming to the Easter pieces—as I shrunk from going to them. So it is! I haven't seen the pieces, and yet I must swagger in critical confidence, and make you admire the acumen, the profundity, the all-embracing knowledge, the all-encompassing sympathy of your "gifted friend," the "talented Vivian." I must tell you all about Tom Taylor's fairy tale at the PRINCESS's, which will give me a fine opportunity for displaying any erudition I may have on the subject of German fairy lore, and their grim collector, (and if I have none, which may be the case, there is still open to me the resource of Mr. Potts's immortal contributor on Chinese Metaphysics, who "read up for it under the heads of C, for China, and M, for Metaphysics, and combined his information, sir!") moreover, there is some of Tom's happy verse, and Herr Stöpel's pleasant music. But to do all this I must see the piece. The same condition is affixed to the treatment of the HAYMARKET burlesque upon the *Capsicum Brothers*, and to the drama at the ADELPHI, wherein Mrs. Keeley (incomparable actress!) plays the *Queen of the Market*. At SADLER'S WELLS there is no Easter piece, but what is better—*John Saville of Haystead*, Mr. White's best play, and one of Phelps's finest parts. Mr. Phelps is now the only steady supporter of the "legitimate" drama, and he finds it answer his purpose; could he but secure a theatre westward he would make a fortune, for he has all the qualities which ensure managerial success. DRURY LANE has happily not ventured on an Easter piece; "a novelty? *Fi done!* for whom do you take me? Am I to produce new pieces while there are any worn out pieces shabby enough to warrant revival? for you observe it is with pieces as with coats—the "reviver," the glossy charm is only applied when the seams show white! So reasons the enterpriser. Instead of an Easter piece, he offers the public a "decisive reduction of prices." I think the reduction will be decisive. The MARIONETTES are still in full vigour. The troubles and exasperations which beset a legitimate dramatist at the rehearsal of his play, are illustrated, I am told, in a most ludicrous and side-shaking style, by one of the brightest of our gay writers; and *Aladdin* is a gorgeous spectacle. Finally, the OLYMPIC not only holds out to me the attraction of "the gifted author," but a burlesque, *The Camberwell Brothers*, or *The Mystic Milkman*, with Compton as *Franky*.

At the FRENCH PLAYS we have had to welcome Regnier, the admirable actor; Lafont, who reappears before an audience thoroughly devoted to him; Mdlle. Denain, of the *Français*, and Mdlle. Marquet. Of them you shall hear next week.

THE OPERAS.

THE great talk of the operatic town is the pending quarrel, law suit, or whatever shape it may take, about Joanna Wagner, claimed by both houses, as Jenny Lind was claimed by Bunn and Lumley. Apart from that there has been little interest. Angri has made her *début* at HER MAJESTY's in Rossini's charming opera, *L'Italiana in Algeri*, and produced a decided impression by the dash and bravura of her acting and singing. Belletti, an excellent singer, with a metallic but agreeable voice, appeared as *Mustapha*; and the impudent Ferranti, who assumes all the airs of a great singer, if he does not sing them, played *Tuddeo*. Now Easter is over, we may expect the operas to put forth all their attractions in good earnest. Hitherto they have not been attractive. At the ROYAL ITALIAN, Donizetti's opera, *I Martiri*, has been deferred, owing to severe hoarseness of Tamberlik, till next week. On Thursday we had *Guillaume Tell*; and this evening, Signor Galvani (who, if his name means anything, ought to "produce a sensation,") makes himself known to us as *Elvino* to Castellan's *Sonnambula*. VIVIAN.

A CHAIN OF EVENTS.

THE new drama at the Lyceum is, no doubt, an innovation on the conventional usages of the theatre, but it is justified both by the canons of art and by the test of success. That a drama should be "in eight acts" sounds like a wonderment; but if the story is naturally divisible into eight actions, the acts are but fitting. And it is a division which enables every scene in an eventful tale to be a "set" scene, with a marvellous increase to the illusion. Such reality as we have known to be attained at other houses, in the principal points of the drama, with isolated efforts, is here attained throughout the piece without any effort at all.

The first act or scene discloses to you the distresses of a nobleman in disgrace, who is obliged to fly from Paris, but is accidentally killed in a fire. In the meanwhile, a rascally lawyer has been abstracting the nobleman's will by a *ruse* on the commissary of police, and sets out to find a market for it in San Domingo.

The next act is a shipwreck: a ship dashes wildly on the rocks in the foreground—the rocks of San Domingo: the vessel heaves and tosses on the tempestuous billows, strikes, and sinks bodily. The sailors that cling to her hull and spars are evidently no cockneys, or they would not display, in that tremendous storm, such excellent sea stomachs. They are all lost, save the lawyer and a young fellow-passenger whom he drags exhausted from the very jaws of death to the craggy shore.

In the next act you are among *Les Dames de la halle*—the market women, singing their *fricassée*, gay, pert, defiant, full of love-making, match-making, wrangling, and saucy goodnature. One of their beauties, "fruiterer to his Majesty," and cynosure of neighbouring eyes, &c. &c.,—lovely, discreet, and faithful to her wandering husband, who had gone out to seek his fortune in San Domingo, in the midst of her own good fortune receives the news of his death, and next minute recognises him, living, and riding in a carriage as the returned *Marquis de Meley*, who has now no eyes for her.

From this point a grave story runs through an incessant variety of gay and brilliant tableaux. Each act discloses to you some scene, admirably painted, and furnished forth with all the completeness for which Vestris has so many years been illustrious and unique; thus you have in succession the house of *Père Bonneau*, with his real donkey, cart, and stable; the dazzling saloon in the Hotel de Meley, all glitter and villany, polished and cruel; the *Marché des Innocens*, where the Bacchantes of the Halle are holding revel in groups at once picturesque and life-like; the fountain of *real water* dancing keen and cold in the shadowy moon-light; the struggle between the myrmidons of the Bastille and the faithful and stout-armed Syndie, who literally *ducks* his man in the bubbling and splashing water; and, finally, the illuminated Café of the Fleur de Lys, with the Palais Royal, lustrous as Lucifer, discovered through the open casement on the starlight background—where poetical justice is summarily administered to good and bad, and all ends roundly and happily. As a work of art, the scenery, with the stage effect, is, even in these days of scenic audacities, a rare triumph for Mr. William Beverley;—varied, and yet pleasantly harmonious; every portion made to contribute to the air of wholeness. The animation and gaiety of the "getting up" do not jar with the sentiment of the more stirring story, but rather heighten the effect of the situations, which are very striking.

The actors are not the least remarkable part of the picture; although, as is suited to the season, it is eminently a piece for effects. From the heroine to the obscurest of the chorus, each fills his place enjoyingly and aids the general action. We must cast out of the account, however, two "walking gentlemen," one of whom cannot walk, and the other can do no more. The heroine was an actress new to the stage,—snatched from unripe "legitimate" experiments,—Laura Keane, who is, if not beautiful, snaky and graceful, fresh in manner, and yet endowed, we incline to believe, with much dramatic intention. As the knavish lawyer, Charles Mathews wore his cunning with a coolness sublime, and invested even the footman's livery that he put on in the latter part with a certain heroism of adroit and subtle audacity. Madame Vestris subdues Time, by making him bring to her new powers: as the genial Madame Bonneau, homely but never coarse, giving loose to her grief with the unrestraint of a simple nature, rebuking the artificial lady with natural nobility. Madame Vestris exhibited powers which were concealed by the lighter graces of her earlier years, and which add to unfaded admiration a feeling of deeper respect. We might name more, but shall be content to recall the bright and fascinating *Jacotte* of Miss Julia St. George, and the reckless, exulting grace, character, abandon, and (if we may be allowed to use the word without irreverence) *devil*, of Rosina Wright's *Pas de Poissarde*, in the carnival scene.

And the audience sat it all out? Sat it out! They clung to the whole story with unflinching interest, revelled in the fine painting, almost *enored* the shipwreck, were uproarious at the dancing, relished every turn of the elegant and easy villain, and fastened on the situations with a zest worthy of the Boulevard. We do not say that the piece might not be cut here and there with some advantage; but it is essentially a dramatic story; acted closely, it is over about eleven o'clock, and, within a comfortable sitting, contains twice the fare of more varied playbills.

In reply to the call of the excited crowd, Charles Mathews announced that the piece was from the French, altered and adapted to the stage of the Lyceum by Mr. Slingsby Lawrence and himself.

HOW COCKAIGNE "KEEPS" EASTER.

A CITIZEN of Cockaigne, who has not been to Greenwich Fair, is about as respectable as a dweller in Belgravia, who has never visited the Opera. He is a barbarian, vegetating beyond the pale of civilization,—a pariah among his fellow-cockneys,—a person of no taste, and ostracised by all that is fashionable. But, as most of our readers are in this awful case, let them see what they lose by their abstinence, their ignorance, or their pride, in the following witty article from the *Times*:—

"Greenwich, Easter Monday, and King Mob, ruling right noisily from the Hospital to Blackheath. Bitter relentless April weather. As much dust in the air as though the Great Desert were lying just beyond the Trafalgar, and it would not be surprising to see some fine specimens of alligators reposing in the mud below the boat-stairs. People everywhere. People up the river, where it rolls dirtily between eating-houses, wharfs, and dingy street ends. People down the river, where it rolls still more dirtily betwixt great banks of warehouses and the Watermen and Gravesend steamers. People on the shores of Poplar, people on the heights of London-bridge; people in huge puffly steamboats, in tiny cockboats, gigs, and wherries; people in donkey carts; people sitting on the drivers' laps on omnibuses, or clinging tenaciously to the conductors' legs; people talking defiantly to the man at the wheel, people in the Greenwich trains in every place but under the engines, people on One-tree-hill, people in pothouses or the carriages they paid for, people treading on the toes of ancient Greenwich pensioners smoking cheerily in the sunshine, people in the withered trees, which the east wind has blighted to budlessness, people everywhere, but no fun. * * * The steamers came waddling along from pier to pier to take in more passengers, each being apparently loaded at some remote point up the Thames by several dozens more than it ought to hold, but still contriving, by some magical compromise between death and hydrostatics, to afford room for a few hundreds or so more at every landing place. The omnibuses exhibited their usual elastic properties,—it being a remarkable fact that the police regulations are always rigidly observed whenever the conductor cannot break them, but that when they would be of the smallest use they are treated with a contempt that ought to break the heart of the Lyceus of Scotland-yard. Elderly gentlemen who remonstrated against having to support

still more elderly ladies in their laps, and who were embarrassed in getting their money out of their pockets by babies' legs, met with the mild rebuff from W 10, 'We can't help this here, Sir. Wot's the use of bein' so crusty of a Greenwich Fair?' And so omnibuses are made to carry from 15 to 20 out, and each of the inside passengers was licensed to carry double. As to the Greenwich station, the general effective management which distinguishes the lords of the road was surpassed. The officials seemed to think it the height of facetiousness when a first-class passenger objected to sit on the ledge of a third-class carriage, while the third-classes—who are, we suppose, the lower classes—were certainly fortunate in establishing their right to travel 'in style' in the sumptuous conveyances intended for the aristocracy of Greenwich and Deptford. Of course, on common days, everything would be arranged with the nicest propriety, and smoking would be punished with the rigours of railway law; but on this day, when alone good regulations were wanted, all the ordinary officers seemed to have gone out for a lark, and to have left several substitutes in the enjoyment of the same at the terminus. Happy the man who got away in a train half an hour after he came to the station (trains every five minutes), and, if popular exclamations are to be relied on as verifications of facts, a considerable per centage of babies of tough and tender years, and of young women and matrons, must have expired in the struggles for places. For the fair itself, much like other English festivities, the great fun is going to it; but, oh! how much greater the fun of getting from it! As a national institution Greenwich on Easter Monday is becoming more ricketty every year. Whether it is the weather or the rival attractions which spring up in the pleasant marshes of Battersea or the sweet meads of Victoria Park we know not—we record a fact;—native British art, which used to excel in the moulding and modelling of gingerbread, is on the decline. The melancholy dearth in British natural phenomena which we bewailed some time ago is on the increase. It really should be taken up by some of our contemporaries. Why do they not despatch a commissioner to inquire into the effects of free-trade on our native breed of giants? Where are our Norfolk Encladi, our Yorkshire Briarei? What has come over our muttons, beeves, goats, horses, asses, dogs, and poultry, that they never present a single 'unrivalled wonder of the world,' but persist in being born with the proper complement of limbs, heads, and bodies? The Gingerbread-alley looked as fair to view as ever, but as we strolled along it was evident invention had ceased in the preparation of that fragile but wholesome (we presume it must be, else why don't all the children at Greenwich die?) and gorgeous provender. There was merely a tame adherence to precedents; the same cocks, hens, generals, and horses as our great-grandfathers had chewed in their boyhood. Algar's was there as usual, with that band of determined will and iron spirit, each of whom might make an emperor, as emperors are made nowadays. But we missed 'the curly-haired Queen of the Cannibal Islands.' There was no giant! Not one. Still more incredible, there was no dwarf (save those whom gin and tobacco had dwindled down below the level of humanity in the passing crowd). Passing down Gingerbread-alley, the only zoological curiosities calculated to excite the least emotion in the breast of a member of the society were 'a horned cock' (with horns like a bull's), but our pride in it was at once dashed to the ground by reading that it had 'just arrived from Dantisc'; and a 'caml dog' (*habitat* unknown), which, according to the *affiche*, had 'the mouth of a sheep, the breast-bone of a fowl, the shoulder-bone of a man, the claws of an eagle, the web-foot of a duck, and the hind part of a pig.' The firing for nuts was pretty brisk, but not so spirited or effective as we have seen it; but Richardson was in all his glory; his hand excelled in the virulent intensity of their polka; and never was the celebrated cornopoean in more force. But again we noted an innovation—even the tragedy has been changed! So has been the comic song! So has been the pantomime! To be sure there is not much difference, for the gentleman in armour, 'The Red Ruffian of the Recess,' just as he is about to be uncivil to a lady whom 'the r-r-r-ights of conqu-e-st has made my-en,' is encountered by the very same ghost who prevented 'Halonzer' from committing some capital crime in the old piece, and is 'der-riven-ah to 'orror and despatch-hair' by so very unexpected an apparition; and the dukes are changed into counts, while the other nobles become 'barrons,' and Himogyene is altered to 'Halesinar.' The tragedy is as affecting as ever, and the comic song makes the drunken sailors cry in the gallery, while the harlequin of the pantomime is, we are happy to say, as plethoric as in his best days. Altogether, Richardson and Algar bear the burden of this part of the fair on their shoulders. *Au reste*, there were only two 'up and downs,' and not one knock'endown—a solitary booth, in front of which two miserable ill-made and worse-looking ruffians, 'with cavernous aspects and battered beaks,' were parading as 'the Derbyshire Gamecock and the Paddington Pet,' open to all comers for 2d. a-round and 2d. a visit; two or three grand 'chromotypic monograph likenesses' and 'dagguertip talboytie processes' for 1d. each; some nut-stalls, a cosmorama of nature and art on a very small scale, and that was all.

There was, of course, the customary amount of 'scratching'—the whole fun of the fair for 2d. (and very dear it was for the money),—which seems to be the only available mode known to Londoners of scraping an acquaintance on these occasions, and it was pretty to see the good citizens on the tops of the hills smash hats and bonnets all in joke with hard apples and volleys of oranges, or roll old ladies and young women down among the stones and gravel. The dust was insufferable, the heat in the sun was annoying, the cold in the shade was still more so; and even Job might have lost temper if, under such circumstances, his coat were 'scratched' off his back; his hat, or its prototype, damaged by whacks of oranges and stony pippins. Certainly several foreigners, who had come abroad to get an idea of the manners and customs of the English, and whose pockets were dangling gracefully behind their coats turned inside out, seemed not at all to understand the wit and humour of the follies of the hour. Blackheath was devoted to equestrian, asinine, and toxophilic amusements. The cavalry was in great request, and a stuffed representative of the Prince President suffered severely from arrows, most of which, however, were in his boots and cocked hat,—rather a proof of bad marksmanship, we fear, than friendly feeling. Altogether the affair was flat and dreary to us, but many thousands of people appeared to think otherwise, and, so long as that is the case, Greenwich Fair will be a national institution, and all who oppose it be regarded with proper scorn and contempt by the masses."

Is not this another sign that our national amusements have grown worse than useless—mischievous? And yet, while Greenwich fairs afford almost the only opportunities to the people for gregarious recreations, the aristocratic cricketer, now Chief Commissioner of Works, insists on pulling down the Crystal Palace! There is wisdom still in England, certainly, but its local habitation is not called Whitehall.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

SATURDAY, April 17.

Is almost every description of Government Stock there has been an advance during the past week. Money is plentiful, and therefore cheap: the rate of discount in Lombard-street is from 1½ to 2 per cent. These are strong symptoms of the difficulty of obtaining remunerative investments. A few more purchases of Consols will certainly take them above par, which they have not touched since 1845. Consols opened on Monday at 99½, and closed at 99½ on Thursday. Bank Stock from 218 to 218½. Exchequer Bills (March) 72s. 74s. and June 64s. 68s. premium.

The attention of the brokers and jobbers on the Foreign Stock market has been mainly engrossed by the settlement of the account, and the business has been less than usual. Brazil Old Small Bonds have been done at 80½; Buenos Ayres Bonds 79; Granada 10½, 11; Mexican 35½, ditto New Three per Cents. 29½; Peruvian 105½ 6½, ditto Deferred ditto 65½; Venezuela 48; Portuguese Four per Cents. 30½; Spanish Three per Cents. 47½ 8½, ditto Three per Cents. Deferred 21½ 2; Sardinian 97½, and Dutch Two-and-a-Half per Cents. 61½ 2½.

There has been a good deal of business done in the Railway Share Market for the next account. The quotations are generally firmer.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Satur.	Mon.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	218	218	218	218	218	219
3 per Cent. Red.	98½	98½	98½	98½	99	99
3 per Cent. Con. Ans.	99½	99½	99½	99½	99½	100
3 per Cent. An. 1751	99½	99½	99½	99½	100	100
3 per Cent. Con. A6	99½	99½	99½	99½	100	101
3 per Cent. An.	99½	100	100	100	100	101
New 5 per Cents.	100	100	100	100	100	101
Long Ans. 1800	16½	16	16	16	16	16
Ind. St. 10½ per Cent.						
Ditto Bonds, £1000			82	84	85	84
Ex. Mills, £1000	72 p	73 p	73 p	73 p	74 p	74 p
Ditto, £500	60 p		73 p	73 p	74 p	75 p
Ditto, £250		70 p		73 p	72 p	75 p

FOREIGN FUNDS.

(LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING FRIDAY EVENING.)

Belgian 4½ per Cents.	97	Peruvian 6 pr. Ct. 1849	107
Brazilian Small	99½	Portuguese 4 per Cents.	39
Buenos Ayres, Act.	80½	Sardinian 5 per Cents.	97½
Danish 6 per Cents.	104½	Spanish Passives	54
Dutch 2½ per Cents.	62½	Spanish 3 per Cents.	48½
Granada, ex Dec. 1849	104	Spanish 3 pr. Ct. New Def.	21
Granada, Deferred.	104	Venezuela, Act.	48½
Mexican 3 pr. Ct. Acc.	35½	Venezuela Deferred	18½
Mexican 3 per Cents.	29½		

Royal Italian Opera,
COVENT GARDEN.

PRODUCTION OF "I MARTIRI."

The Directors have the honour to announce that on Tuesday next, April 20th, 1852, will be produced, for the first time in this country, Donizetti's Opera, entitled

I MARTIRI.

(As performed at the Academie Royale, Paris,) with new scenery, costumes, and appointments.

Paulina..... Madame JULIENNE,
Of the Academie Royale, Paris, her first appearance in England.
Severus..... Signor BONCONI.
Felix..... Signor MARINI.
Marcus..... Signor STIGELLI.
A Christian..... Signor SOLDI.
Callisthenes..... Signor POLONINI; and
Polytus..... Signor TAMBERLIK.

The incidental Divertissement in the Second Act of the Opera will be sustained by Mdlles. H. and L. Bellotti, Mdlle. Leblond, Mdlle. Kolenberg, and Mdlle. Robert.

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